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ARTICLES

- Melanie Czajkowskyj*: Volodymyr Vynnychenko and His
Mission to Moscow and Kharkiv 3
- Yury Boshyk*: A Chapter from the History of the Ukrainian
Diaspora: M. Drahomanov's *Hromada*, the Ukrainian
Printing House in Geneva, and A.M. (Kuzma) Liakhotsky 25
- Bohdan Strumins'kyj*: Ukrainian between Old Bulgarian,
Polish, and Russian 40
- Ярослав Харчун*: Українська мова, чи мова української
еміграції? 57
- Peter L. Rudnytsky*: Icarus and Prometheus: The Coming
of Age of Ukrainian Studies 62
- Jaroslav Rozumnyj*: A Report on Ukrainian Language
Textbooks at the University Level 68

GUIDES TO RESEARCH

Primary Sources to Immigration and Settlement
at the Public Archives of Canada, Part Two:

- The Royal Canadian Mounted Police (Doug Whyte) 83
- The Office of the Registrar General (Nadia Kazymyra) 88

REVIEWS

- Alexander Sydorenko, *The Kievan Academy
in the Seventeenth Century* (Myroslav Yurkevich) 92
- Arnol'd Davidovich Margolin, *Ukraine and Policy of
the Entente* (Konstantin Huytan) 95
- Hryhorii Kostiuk, *Okaianni roky: Vid Lukianivskoi tiurny
do Vorkutskoi trahedii (1935-1940 rr.)* (James E. Mace) 99

CONTRIBUTORS

YURY BOSHYK is a doctoral candidate in social studies at St. Antony's College, Oxford University, and is currently teaching courses in Ukrainian culture and civilization and in the Ukrainian diaspora at the University of Toronto.

MELANIE CZAJKOWSKYJ completed an M.A. in history at Rutgers University in 1977 and is currently studying documentary filmmaking at the New School for Social Research in New York City.

YAROSLAV HARCHUN completed his studies in philology and French language and literature at Lviv University and taught at Kiev University. Having emigrated to the West in 1974, he studied at Harvard University. He is currently a doctoral candidate in philology at the University of Ottawa, where he also teaches Ukrainian and Russian.

JAROSLAV ROZUMNYJ is Chairman of the Department of Slavic Studies at the University of Manitoba and Professor of Ukrainian language and literature.

PETER L. RUDNYTSKY has studied at Columbia and Cambridge Universities and is currently a doctoral candidate in English literature at Yale University.

BOHDAN STRUMINS'KYJ has a Ph.D. in Polish and Slavic philology from the University of Warsaw. He taught Polish at the University of Warsaw (1962-63) and Ukrainian at Harvard University (1975-78). Currently he is a research associate of the Ukrainian Encyclopaedia II project sponsored by the Canadian Institute of Ukrainian Studies.

VOLODYMYR VYNNYCHENKO AND HIS MISSION TO MOSCOW AND KHARKIV

Volodymyr Vynnychenko's mission to Moscow and Kharkiv in 1920 is an aspect of Soviet history that has long been neglected. The reasons for this are manifold. Records relating to the mission are not plentiful. The only existing testimonies to the outcome of the mission are a diary kept by Vynnychenko, several copies of statements to the Russian Bolsheviks that he collected, and a number of pamphlets published after he returned to the West.

Vynnychenko was sponsored in this enterprise only by a small group of sympathizers in Vienna. Therefore, the failure of the mission can be seen as the failure of one man's attempt to change the course of Ukrainian history. Vynnychenko, a popular literary figure in his time, was greeted by his Russian and Ukrainian contemporaries with deep hostility for his political efforts. His political reputation became so tainted that in time even his literary achievements were disregarded. Vynnychenko became a forgotten man, and his unique ideas, both literary and political, fell into obscurity. The facts concerning his mission of 1920 suffered a similar fate.

Vynnychenko's purpose for embarking on this political venture and his observations on events in Moscow and Kharkiv remain an invaluable source of information on the nature of national consciousness and socialism in Soviet Russia and Ukraine. Vynnychenko was a confirmed Marxist who advocated statehood for Ukraine. He had taken part in the struggle for Ukrainian autonomy, federation, and finally independence. However, as a socialist he maintained contacts with revolutionary organizations, including the Bolsheviks. Because of both his patriotism and his ideology, Vynnychenko was to become completely isolated from each of the movements—both nationalist and socialist. Although his alienation from the vital political movements in Ukraine and Russia after the mission resulted in his failure to make an impact on later developments, his observations of this period deserve close study.

Vynnychenko inadvertently initiated his mission after the Germans capitulated and overtures of peace came to Kiev from Moscow. At this time the armies of the Directory were still quite strong, while the Bolsheviks, who had to contend with the White Russian armies, were at a military disadvantage. As Chairman of the Directory, Vynnychenko sent his delegate, Semen Mazu-

renko, to Moscow to negotiate a treaty involving the following issues: (1) complete independence for Ukraine; (2) help from the Bolsheviks to rearm the Ukrainian army; and (3) a temporary military alliance between Moscow and Kiev against the Whites.¹ Vynnychenko claimed that these demands were acknowledged by the Central Committee of the Bolshevik Party as valid issues for negotiation, but the members of the Directory never received Mazurenko's telegram containing Lenin's positive response. When Mazurenko attempted to come to Kiev with the information, Vynnychenko charged that he was prevented from crossing the border into Ukraine by Petliura's Ukrainian army and forced to return to Moscow. The telegram remained in the possession of Petliura. Although this is impossible to verify until Soviet archives are opened to Western historians, the existence of such a delegation and the success of the mission is affirmed by another member of the Directory, Mykyta Shapoval, in his work *Velyka revoliutsiia*.² Another Directory official, Isaak Mazepa, claimed that Mazurenko had indeed notified the Directory that prospects for a successful settlement of the differences between the Directory and Khristian Rakovsky's Soviet Ukrainian government in Kharkiv seemed good.³ The date when the members of the Directory received this telegram, however, is not cited by Mazepa, which may explain the reason why Vynnychenko and Shapoval were not aware of this message until years later, since they both resigned from the Directory at the same time.

The proposed military alliance with the Bolsheviks was not viewed favourably by the majority within the Directory and therefore was not given the opportunity to develop. Nonetheless, Vynnychenko felt that he had reason to believe that the Soviet state was well disposed to the idea of an alliance with the UPR (Ukrainian People's Republic). On February 6, 1919, the day after the Soviet government approached the Directory with a proposition which would radically alter the foreign policy of the Directory, he wrote in his diary:

Yesterday it was announced over the radio that the Soviet Russian government offered to become the peace negotiator between the Directory and the Soviet Ukrainian government. The head of that government is Rakovsky, who is a member of the Russian govern-

¹ Volodymyr Vynnychenko, *Rozhliad i pohodzhennia* (n.p., n.d.), pp. 11-12.

² Mykyta Shapoval, *Velyka revoliutsiia* (Prague, 1924-26), p. 74.

³ Isaak Mazepa, *Ukraina v ohni i buri revoliutsii* (n.p., 1950-51), 1:104.

ment. So, in other words, the Sovnarkom proposes to be the intermediary between themselves and ourselves.⁴

This was written in reference to two telegrams which arrived on February 5, 1919, bearing similar information. One was from Rakovsky in Kharkiv, the other from Chicherin, Soviet Commissar of Foreign Affairs in Moscow. To Vynnychenko, who had no news from Mazurenko, here at last was an indication that Moscow was still interested in peace negotiations. Since he belonged to the political milieu in Kiev which sympathized with the Bolsheviks, such news undoubtedly inspired him to take full advantage of the invitation to open talks, even if he was indignant at the manner in which the proposal was presented—suggesting virtual capitulation.

Meanwhile, it was decided that the Directory would continue negotiations with the Entente concerning political recognition and military cooperation against the Bolsheviks.⁵ As an elected Chairman of the Worker's Congress, Vynnychenko felt that he could not take part in the drastic decision to enter into an alliance with the Entente, which he regarded as part of the counterrevolutionary camp.

Continued negotiations with the Entente and the establishment of a nonsocialist government in Poland convinced the socialists of the need to resign from the Directory. Mazepa, however, was opposed to this action on the grounds that the socialists were deserting the Directory at the moment when they were most needed by it. He argued that the Ukrainian peasants and workers would follow the parties or *otamans* delivering the most radical statements to the masses. Only the socialist parties could manage to control the internal situation in Ukraine by offering the masses those programs which would turn them away from the Bolsheviks. Instead, the Ukrainian socialists were voluntarily abandoning the government at a time of internal chaos within Ukraine to politicians who would do nothing but promote the UPR on the international forum.⁶ But Mazepa's criticism of the socialist action and Vynnychenko's role in it did not take into account the fact that Vynnychenko had no political alternative but to act in the manner he did. His antagonism toward the Entente stemmed from his concern that Ukraine might once again become the puppet of a

⁴ Volodymyr Vynnychenko, "Shchodennyk," bk. 6, p. 11, Vynnychenko Archive, Columbia University, New York. In Mazepa, p. 103, the date is erroneously cited as March 5, 1919.

⁵ Mazepa, p. 104.

⁶ *Ibid.* p. 106.

major power. The lesson of the Central Rada could not be overlooked. E. H. Carr wrote that the Directory's "weakness made it constantly amenable to foreign pressure and thus precluded any real freedom of action."⁷ His observation coincides with Vynnychenko's thesis on Ukrainian independence: that a psychologically and physically weaker state cannot forge a positive alliance with a stronger state. A positive alliance has to be more than an artificial contrivance creating an illusion of statehood for the weaker partner. Allied with a stronger power, the weaker state would sooner or later accept its ideology, thus precluding any real manifestation of independence. Only a federated union based on economic cooperation, Vynnychenko claimed, could produce a positive alliance. Due to the radical economic programs of Soviet Russia and its relative military weakness in 1919, Vynnychenko believed a positive alliance could be forged between the UPR and Soviet Russia, whereas an alliance with Poland or France at this time would be detrimental to the people of Ukraine. As a strict, uncompromising moralist, Vynnychenko felt he could not accept responsibility for the consequences he believed such an alliance would entail. Vynnychenko's break with the Kiev government on February 11, 1919 was definitive and evident to all parties.

The most controversial period of Vynnychenko's career began after he moved to Vienna in March 1919. Was this a conscious action or merely the product of chance?

Most historians feel that Vynnychenko emigrated to Vienna in order to devote himself to his literary pursuits. The rapidity of events, however, lends itself to another interpretation: that before Vynnychenko left Kiev, the willingness of both sides to take part in discussions was already determined, and that the preliminaries between Vynnychenko and Lenin with Bela Kun, the Hungarian Bolshevik leader, acting as mediator, had been arranged. For on February 9, 1919, Vynnychenko emigrated to Vienna. On March 21, a Soviet Hungarian government was proclaimed by Bela Kun. On March 28, a Ukrainian emissary in Budapest sent Vynnychenko a telegram telling him to depart immediately to Budapest.⁸ Vynnychenko arrived in Budapest on March 30, accompanied by Iurii Tyshchenko, and on the following day Kun and Vynnychenko held their first conference.⁹

⁷ E. H. Carr, *The Bolshevik Revolution 1917-1923* (New York, 1951), 1:305.

⁸ Hryhorii Kostiuk, "Volodymyr Vynnychenko ta ioho ostannii roman," in Volodymyr Vynnychenko, *Slovo za toboiu, Staline!* (New York, 1971), p. 30.

⁹ Vynnychenko, "Shchodennyk," bk. 6, p. 11.

On April 1, another conference took place between the two men. They discussed the five points Vynnychenko would present to Lenin. These were: (1) independence for the Soviet Republic of Ukraine; (2) the execution of the Republic's official business in the Ukrainian language; (3) an independent Ukrainian economy and finances; (4) the independent management of foreign affairs; and (5) the separation of the Ukrainian army, militia, and political party system from those of Soviet Russia.¹⁰ The agenda for the discussion was accepted by Lenin with the reservation that it would also have to be approved by the peasants' and workers' soviets in Ukraine. But on April 3, 1919, Vynnychenko received word that Khristian Rakovsky, chairman of the Ukrainian People's Soviets, refused to take part in the discussions.

Another meeting was scheduled with Bela Kun, at which Vynnychenko was presented with a telegram from Moscow. It confirmed Moscow's eagerness to mediate between Vynnychenko's and Rakovsky's delegations if Vynnychenko provided Moscow with a list of parties which would take part in the future government. Vynnychenko responded with the same terms as before. All left-wing, revolutionary, and socialist parties would be invited to participate in the coalition government. The demands for an independent Ukrainian government and the use of Ukrainian as the language of state were reiterated.¹¹ Towards the end of May, Mykyta Shapoval sent Vynnychenko news of rumours from Budapest that Moscow had accepted his points for discussion.¹²

The Foreign Group of the Ukrainian Communist Party to which Vynnychenko belonged had been formed from the more radical faction which split with the Ukrainian Social Democratic Labour Party at a conference held in Vienna on September 9, 1919.¹³ The main cause for the cleavage was the Group's belief in the virtual necessity of sending a delegation to Moscow and Kharkiv and the need for an organization to act as the sponsor of this mission. Its initial move was to send a representative to Moscow to arrange the official details. The man nominated was Semen Mazurenko, the same man who had been in charge of the Directory's delegation to Moscow and had been very influential in convincing Vynnychenko of the importance of such a mission. Mazurenko departed on October 14, 1919.¹⁴ The emigré Left Socialist Revolutionaries were not opposed to the idea of such a

¹⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 22.

¹¹ Vynnychenko, "Shchodennyk," bk. 7, p. 4.

¹² *Ibid.*, p. 6.

¹³ Vynnychenko, "Shchodennyk," bk. 8, pp. 4-5.

¹⁴ Vynnychenko, "Shchodennyk," bk. 7, p. 30.

mission and met with the Foreign Group on February 25, 1920 to devise a joint platform and outline.

In his diary, Vynnychenko mentions being visited by Bolshevik agents who alluded to the desirability of his coming to Moscow. Radical Ukrainian groups in the West also pressured Vynnychenko to embark on the mission. Even though they lacked a knowledge of the actual state of affairs, they believed that a person chosen from amongst their ranks would be capable of influencing politics within Ukraine to suit their own doctrines. Whether Lenin would tolerate an independent communist Ukraine was an issue that was not even considered. A letter housed in the Vynnychenko Archive is typical of these naive emigré assumptions:

In early April of this year, there is to be a conference of [Ukrainian] peasants' and workers' soviets to decide their relationship to Soviet Russia.

In this important moment, the presence of a person capable of leading this movement is a necessity. We consider you [Vynnychenko] to be the only leader able to direct this movement...

Prague, March 3, 1920.¹⁵

By May 1920, the formal preliminary procedures were concluded and the mission became a reality. On May 4, Lenin sent this telegram:

Felix Kon

Kiev

Copy to Rakovsky

Kharkov

Regarding Vinnichenko we agree in principle. Reach agreement with Rakovsky on details...

Lenin

May 4, 1920¹⁶

On May 24, the delegation, consisting of Volodymyr and Rosa Vynnychenko, Jaromir Nechos, a Czech SD, and Oleksander Badan, Vynnychenko's secretary, departed for Moscow.¹⁷ On the way Vynnychenko was struck by the difficulty in crossing the barriers which served to isolate western Europe from the territory

¹⁵ Oryshchuk, "Za Ukrainyski Sots. Hurtok," March 3, 1920, Prague, Vynnychenko Archive, no. 0-3.

¹⁶ V. I. Lenin, *Collected Works*, trans. Clemens Dutt and ed. Bernard Isaacs (London-Moscow, 1970), 44:182.

¹⁷ Vynnychenko, "Shchodennyk," bk. 9, p. 1.

occupied by the Bolsheviks. The artificial contrivances imposed on a traveller, wrote Vynnychenko, made one feel as if he were leaving one world and entering another:

We advance towards our goal with almost imperceptible movements. Minute instances absorb all our attention—passes, visas, permits, tickets. Enclosed in a barbed wire through which worming one's way is a matter of singular difficulty, Europe has been blockaded and barricaded from Russia.¹⁸

Vynnychenko's pessimism en route gained substance upon arrival in Moscow. From the inception, the Bolshevik leaders assumed an air of distrust and suspicion towards the man who had once been so hopeful about the success of his mission and who gave himself up to the cause, completely abandoning any personal interests. They were completely tactless and inhospitable—the delegation was not met at the railroad station, nor were living quarters prepared for them, although the Petrograd Commissariat had telegraphed Moscow of their impending arrival.¹⁹

What was the cause for this show of disrespect toward an individual willing to sacrifice himself for the ideals of the revolution? Vynnychenko only gradually began to perceive the reasons behind the slighting of the delegation by the Politburo. It stemmed from the theoretical and personal motives with which Vynnychenko had come to retake the lead of the Ukrainian revolution. The revolution, Vynnychenko claimed, would be maintained only after Ukrainian and non-Ukrainian elements united in a working coalition to bring revolution to the peasants and petit bourgeois intelligentsia.²⁰ He reasoned that the Bolshevik Party could not achieve this because it did not adhere to his theory. Firstly, it was a party of the Russian or Russified proletariat. Secondly, the presence of the Entente forces in Ukraine prevented the Bolsheviks from organizing the masses for revolutionary action, since any revolutionary demonstration would certainly be used by the Entente as an excuse to occupy Bolshevik-held territories with their own troops. According to Vynnychenko, these factors limited Bolshevik policy and precluded the cooperation of the non-Ukrainian Social Democrats and the politically aware proletariat with the Ukrainian peasantry, which was essential for the economic growth of the countryside. The lack of orientation toward the peasantry by the Bolsheviks was inconsistent with and detrimental to their theories

¹⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 3.

¹⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 5.

²⁰ *Ibid.*

of workers' and peasants' soviets and their attempts at engaging the working class in administrative and military organizations.

The Bolsheviks, displeased that even in Moscow Vynnychenko maintained his criticism of their political system, resisted any influence he might exert by attempting to weaken the delegation psychologically. The members of the delegation were treated as unimportant entities and second-rate politicians who could be dealt with only after more important matters were settled. Yet Vynnychenko's popularity as a writer in Ukraine could not be disregarded, particularly at a time when the Bolsheviks were in need of prominent Ukrainian figures to present the Bolshevik cause in a form palatable to the Ukrainian people.

Vynnychenko's first formal conference in Moscow was held with Commissar Radek, on the day of his arrival. He described the mood of that and other meetings in his diary:

The meeting's character, though haphazard and superficial, with much scurrying to the telephone and jumping from topic to topic, was nevertheless comradely. But at this point all friendliness came to an end. Afterwards, tension, coolness, and near hostility emerged and continued to this moment.²¹

Antagonism to the delegation's demands also came from other members of the Politburo. On the question of independence for the Ukrainian economy, politics, and culture, Chicherin simplified the matter by concluding that a Ukrainian problem was purely imaginary, since all those living on Ukrainian territory spoke Russian.²² These meetings served as Vynnychenko's initiation into the world of Soviet bureaucracy. Vynnychenko was completely stunned by the insensitivity of the bureaucrats to the true ideals of communism.

My first words, that the Foreign Group had sent me to devote all my strength to the revolution, these words, which had sounded so real to the Group as well as to myself, so sincere and so full of meaning, to Chicherin "the wall" were simply words which were tossed at the masses at every revolutionary meeting. He was more interested in finding out the concrete proposals I would present. What would happen to the Donetsk Basin? the Kuban? Whom would they belong to?²³

For Vynnychenko the communist effort inspired a sense of internationalist community, and he therefore could not compre-

²¹ *Ibid.*, pp. 5-6.

²² *Ibid.*, p. 6.

²³ *Ibid.*

hend the emphasis placed on the national ownership of regions like the Donbas. He had come to Moscow to promote the cause of the revolution—one which could lead to a federation of communist states working in solidarity and cooperation. Ownership of property for him was an antiquated concept. The system of federated states, which he anticipated would come into existence, would determine the distribution of the world's resources. One could consider the question in which ethnographic territory the Donbas was located only on a purely academic level. It had obviously been incorporated into Ukraine centuries ago. Under a truly communist system, however, the Donbas's riches would be utilized by all, not only by Ukraine.

Soon after the preliminary sessions with members of the Politburo, Vynnychenko realized that his mission, as it had been planned in the West, would produce no results. His program, he felt, had not taken into account the centralism that was beginning to dominate the foreign policy of the Bolsheviks and was eradicating all semblance of true communism. "As a result," he wrote later, "the activity of the governing party has two aspects: one formal, programmatic, declaratory; the other—practical, real, undeclared."²⁴ Vynnychenko and the Foreign Group, as émigrés, had been aware only of the declarative activity in Soviet Russia and Ukraine and had badly misconstrued the actual state of affairs. They had accepted that Bolshevik policies would be somewhat compatible with their own program.

Vynnychenko's discoveries in Moscow made him realize that the Bolshevik government would not foster a regeneration of national consciousness in Ukraine. This would not be in its economic interests. Although this realization was a source of great personal suffering, he continued to maintain that a cultural regeneration of the populace remained a probable occurrence. But he felt still greater consternation when he witnessed the lack of enthusiasm and the defeatist spirit amid the formerly revolutionary Russian proletariat. Vynnychenko deplored the tactics of the Politburo, which fostered and encouraged passivity:

It is evident that the Russian Communist Party acts on the basis of tactical principles which are incapable of successfully guiding the proletariat in its psychological transformation or organization of its consciousness in a communist spirit. On the contrary, such tactics reaffirm in the psychology of the masses the old individualistic forms of thought, the old psychological habits, the old deviations in social

²⁴ Volodymyr Vynnychenko, *Revoliutsiia v nebezpetsi* (Vienna, 1920), p. 23.

ethics, adopted and imprinted through centuries of absolutism and capitalist monarcho-individualism. Because of such methods, the working masses are not drawn into the revolution, and they appear to be passive material which is authoritatively operated by a small group of people.²⁵

It was this small group of people which had invited Vynnychenko to Moscow. Yet by June 3, 1920, he complained in his diary that not one of them met with him despite his attempts toward such an end. Radek did not keep his second appointment with Vynnychenko, nor did Stalin meet with him, although he was authorized to confer with Vynnychenko. Finally, when Vynnychenko petitioned for a conference with Lenin, he was told that Lenin was too busy.²⁶ At first, Vynnychenko had assumed that the Bolsheviks were treating him with such great disregard because of a deep personal distrust and suspicion of his character. He therefore issued a comradely statement to Lenin in which he affirmed his equal status with every Russian Communist Party member, saying: "I came as a member of the Third International, Viennese Chapter."²⁷ He informed Lenin that the Foreign Group had authorized him to fulfill various obligations, particularly that of establishing a Union of the Ukrainian Communist Party and the CP(b)U. Once this task was accomplished, the Foreign Group wished to join the new Communist Party of Ukraine, and Vynnychenko, acting as a disciplined member of the party, would be ready to accept all directives issued to him.

His brief to Lenin also criticized the appointment of Khristian Rakovsky, a Rumanian, to head the Politburo of Soviet Ukraine. It was not simply Rakovsky's ethnic background that Vynnychenko protested against, but also the symbolism inherent in appointing a non-Ukrainian to that high office. Rakovsky's designation by the Russian Bolsheviks represented Russification and imperialism to the conscious Ukrainian elements. Thus, although Vynnychenko had been invited by Radek to join Rakovsky's government, he declined this offer.²⁸ He knew that his literary popularity made his presence in the cabinet appealing to the Bolsheviks, but he refused to accept a titular position which would gain sympathy for Rakovsky's government. He was, however, not averse to becoming an active participant in the governing of a

²⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 13.

²⁶ Vynnychenko, "Shchodennyk," bk. 9, p. 8.

²⁷ Volodymyr Vynnychenko, "Lyst do Lenina," Vynnychenko Archive, no. III, 1, 2; 3a.

²⁸ Vynnychenko, "Shchodennyk," bk. 9, pp. 5-6.

communist Ukraine and, therefore, gave Lenin an ultimatum—his entry into the government would take place only after Rakovsky's dismissal.

Vynnychenko informed Lenin that he had not arrived in Moscow with concrete plans of the nature that Kamenev had anticipated, namely ownership of territory. Instead, his concrete proposal concerned the formation of a front by joining the Soviet Communist Parties and the Foreign Group. The purpose of such a front would be to split the politically conscious Ukrainians into two camps—the socialist Russo-Ukrainian union and the counter-revolutionary Polish-Ukrainian union. These two opposing coalitions would inevitably become involved in a civil war, and Vynnychenko had no doubt that the socialist coalition, with the support of the masses, would be victorious. As a revolutionary Marxist, he saw the development of civil war as an advantage and would then have accepted Radek's offer to become a government official within the framework of a Ukrainian socialist cabinet. "Then my admission into the government," he wrote, "would bring benefit, because it would divide Ukraine into two camps, stop the dangerous elements in opposition to the current government, and weaken the *Petliurivshchyna*."²⁹ For such a development to materialize, it was essential that the foreign influence within Ukraine's government be removed. The presence of foreign elements in a revolutionary situation would give the struggle a character of foreign occupation rather than one of socialist civil war.³⁰

In his diary, Vynnychenko described how he was interrupted during the writing of his letter to Lenin by the announcement that he was being summoned to report to Kharkiv, where he would receive his next instructions from Rakovsky. This announcement drove Vynnychenko to doubt the chance of any success in Moscow, and he concluded his letter by stating his desire to return to Vienna. Why could not the Politburo release its decision concerning the delegation while it was still in Moscow? Obviously the time gained in sending Vynnychenko to Kharkiv would strengthen the Russian Bolsheviks' position. On June 9, Vynnychenko was told of yet another change of plans during a conference with Chicherin, Trotsky, and Kamenev: a two-week trip was being arranged for him to Petrograd to familiarize him with the mechanics of rule of the workers' and peasants' soviets.³¹ Following

²⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 8.

³⁰ Vynnychenko, "Lyst do Lenina."

³¹ Vynnychenko, "Shchodennyk," bk. 9, p. 12.

this change in schedule, Vynnychenko began seriously to suspect that the Politburo was stalling in order to have time to decide how to destroy the dangerous influence he was exerting by stubbornly refusing to accept promises of official positions, luxury, and comfort in exchange for discarding his program.

This incident crystallized Vynnychenko's opinion of the centralist element in the Russian Communist Party. While deliberating on the necessity of such a trip, Vynnychenko was visited by a group of older Russian Bolshevik participants in the October Revolution.³² They told Vynnychenko that he would be used as a puppet if he agreed to the trip and informed him that neither Kharkiv nor Petrograd were centers of decision-making. Hence, to have any influence one had to remain in Moscow and initiate radical changes at the center. Now that his suspicion that such a trip could only further harm his mission was reaffirmed by the older Bolsheviks, Vynnychenko refused to travel to Petrograd. This decision displeased the Politburo.³³

Vynnychenko now began a campaign to expose the centralism in the party structure, hoping that this would encourage other communists, heretofore silent, to become active in reversing this trend. He issued a statement demanding that the Central Committee explain in print its position on Ukraine.³⁴ In this severe indictment of the Bolshevik abuse of Ukrainian nationhood and consciousness, Vynnychenko recalled how, in 1917, he abandoned the Central Rada during its flight to Zhytomyr and went on foot to that area occupied by the Bolsheviks because he wanted to work as a socialist. Yet he, like many others, was being spurned by the Bolsheviks in his attempt to work with them directly. Vynnychenko ended his statement by blaming the Russian Communist Party for bringing the Ukrainian intelligentsia and proletariat closer to counterrevolution. Rather than becoming a pawn in this degeneration of social consciousness, Vynnychenko decided to leave Russia for Ukraine.

Vynnychenko was skeptical of any positive result coming from his proclamation. He in particular did not believe that he would be allowed to visit Ukraine. But on June 16, 1920, Vynnychenko met Lev Kamenev and Grigorii Zinoviev, then head of the Third International. Although they claimed not to have read the proclamation, they were of the opinion that Vynnychenko should be sent to Ukraine. This made Vynnychenko aware

³² *Ibid.*, p. 11.

³³ *Ibid.*, p. 9.

³⁴ Volodymyr Vynnychenko, "Ne dokladanaia zapyska, a pysmo Ts.K.RKP," Vynnychenko Archive, no. 2, 5b.

that his statement to the Central Committee had indeed been very carefully perused.³⁵ He had been wrong in his prediction of its decision.

Vynnychenko was very anxious to visit Ukraine once he received information which led him to reevaluate the political situation there. In Soviet Russia, he believed the Party and even Lenin were losing control over future developments because petit bourgeois elements dominated the Party. Although Lenin, Trotsky, and Kamenev felt that the antiquated habits and modes of operation contrary to the spirit and reality of communism were being eradicated, this was not actually so. As long as the petite bourgeoisie remained an elemental force in government,

Bureaucratization and militarization of the Party, the lack of control and accountability to the next official, and the irresponsibility of workers in important positions create the opportunity for many dubious characters—unproletarian and unrevolutionary—to fill the Party ranks. As a result, one notices an abnormal phenomenon, especially in Ukraine where this principle of absolute centralism is most thoroughly applied... that the largest percentage of Party members is composed of elements of the petite bourgeoisie—strangers amid the local population who are unfamiliar with the people's circumstances and therefore only harmful.³⁶

However, on June 14 Vynnychenko was visited by a recently arrived inhabitant of Halych, Paliiv, who led him to believe that the Ukrainian faction in the Party was growing in strength and was preparing to overcome the trend towards Russian centralism, and that Vynnychenko would find comrades in Ukraine who would share his convictions and beliefs.³⁷ These comrades, who supposedly comprised half of the membership of the CP(b)U, were undergoing a political maturation which would soon threaten the inertia at the top. Vynnychenko responded with enthusiasm and optimism:

The final resolution of my concrete points [of discussion] is supposed to take place in Kharkiv with Rakovsky, Zinoviev, and Stalin. Fine. There I will discuss with my own people. I am supposed to become a Party member when I arrive. But not directly in the RCP, only in the CPU. To them it makes no difference, but for me there is a difference. The RCP will never become an organization of

³⁵ Vynnychenko, "Shchodennyk," bk. 9, p. 16.

³⁶ Vynnychenko, *Revoliutsiia v nebezpetsi*, pp. 28-29.

³⁷ Vynnychenko, "Shchodennyk," bk. 9, p. 15.

Ukrainian strength, but the CPU already exists as such, if only in small instances.³⁸

Vynnychenko travelled to Ukraine at the end of the month. However, prior to the trip on June 19, Trotsky offered Vynnychenko a position in the recruitment and organization of the Ukrainian army. This could have been an opportunity for Vynnychenko to mobilize his campaign of active structural change from above. He, however, felt it was wiser not to accept this commission on the grounds that he was not admitted into the Politburo, the sole body which Vynnychenko knew had a monopoly on the decision-making process:

I just engaged in a discussion with Trotsky, who excellently described the position of the RCP . . . my commissions have been secured for me. I will become a commissar in charge of the army, and a member of the Military Soviet. To my question—what would my functions and sphere of influence consist of—he did not reply, but spoke of these and those functions of this and that person. In other words, I would perform no function. I would act as a figurehead. To my subsequent question—would the army divisions organized in Ukraine remain there or would they be relocated outside the Ukrainian borders?—he answered it would happen one way and the other. In other words, the divisions would be resettled, as I had been previously warned . . . As a result, any new formations which would be attracted to the army through my efforts would be absorbed into Russian divisions and would be organized there . . . there is no possibility for a Ukrainian Army, and no opportunities or tendencies to form one exist . . .

But I agreed to this, thinking that the political situation would advance in the proper direction by itself. The indispensabilities of nature are stronger than people's wills . . . This means that the steering center of the Party—the CC and the Politburo of the CC in particular—must undergo an alteration, no matter how slight [the inclusion of Vynnychenko in the Politburo].

However, just when the conversation touched upon this topic, it suddenly became obvious that all the nice words and ramblings were one thing, while reality was completely different. No changes in Party politics can come about. No additions to the Politburo can be made . . .

I said, then, that under these circumstances I deem it impossible that my position in government would bring any benefit.³⁹

³⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 16.

³⁹ *Ibid.*, pp. 19-20.

The discussion with Trotsky and subsequently with Kame-nev, as well as Vynnychenko's rejection of commissions offered him after being refused admittance into the Politburo, created great difficulties in sanctioning passage for the delegation to Kharkiv. But they finally arrived on June 25. Vynnychenko's stay in Kharkiv did not last long—he returned to Moscow on July 6, 1920—and he kept no record of what happened there. (He was however, due to return to Kharkiv again on August 17, 1920, and this trip was recorded.) Vynnychenko returned to Moscow with the sad recognition that there was no work for a man like himself in Kharkiv. His writings of this period are filled with gloom and confusion over future courses of action. He was faced with the choice of rejecting his nation and becoming a communist in the Bolshevik sense, or disassociating himself from the Bolsheviks and living as a Ukrainian. Neither choice was acceptable to him, and were it not for his literary activity—the one inspiration he had in those days—Vynnychenko felt he would have succumbed to death. Again he began to petition for permission to leave for Vienna. Since May 24, 1919, after Lenin sent Rakovsky a memorandum on the matter, foreigners leaving the country on their own initiative was considered a criminal act.⁴⁰

The best channel for Vynnychenko to attain permission for the delegation to leave the country became the Third International. He wrote a letter to Radek on July 15, asking him for three tickets to the Second Session of the Congress of the Third International, and that Radek discuss with responsible authorities the feasibility of sending Vynnychenko as an agent of the International to the United States since he could not serve the cause of communism in Ukraine.⁴¹ Although he had already spent two months in Russia, no constructive work could be found for him. The mission had disintegrated into the writing of petitions and proclamations with no effect. Vynnychenko, previously a defender of the Bolshevik state, now acknowledged the fact that there was no place for Ukrainians in it. Conscious Ukrainians were no longer considered useful, especially after the Red Army's victories over Petliura's forces. Because Vynnychenko disapproved of this, he was denied a responsible position in the Kharkiv Politburo, and the Foreign Group was refused membership in the CP(b)U.

The reason for Vynnychenko's desire to attend the Congress of the Third International and to be appointed as a representative to

⁴⁰. Volodymyr Vynnychenko, "Lyst do Radeka," July 15, 1920, Moscow. Vynnychenko Archive, no. III, 1, 2; 3a.

⁴¹ Vynnychenko, "Shchodennyk," bk. 9, p. 18.

the United States was to extend his attempts at curtailing the centralism within the RCP beyond the borders of the Soviet state. In the International, Vynnychenko hoped to find comrades who would listen to his eyewitness reports whom he could then motivate to take control of the revolution away from the hands of the Party officials in Moscow. Again he would try to achieve the same goal—an independent socialist Ukraine—but this time his tool would be the International. Because of the hostility between Soviet Russia and the West, it was difficult for the Bolsheviks to install one of their agents in the United States. Vynnychenko felt that his Austrian passport would facilitate this. Chicherin became sincerely interested in his proposal and agreed to discuss the matter at the conference.⁴² This plan, however, did not materialize.

As a delegate to the Congress, Vynnychenko was dismayed by the lack of representatives there from the Ukrainian parties. His observations of the Bolshevik experiment in Ukraine suggested to him that, should communism fail in Ukraine, it would also fail in the West. Unfortunately, Western capitalism had not deteriorated in the face of the Bolshevik experiment:

Judging by the statements about conditions in Europe assiduously and purposefully gathered in the Soviet press, one cannot be secure in the thought that capitalism will capitulate in this historical epoch. [Capitalism] is still strong. The number and strength of strikes does not increase. Elections to the parliaments do not register a decrease in bourgeois influence. On the contrary, the results of the German elections, when compared with the elections held soon after the revolution, indicate a lapse of revolutionary energy . . . The fall of prices of certain products sold in Europe, however one attempts to explain it, is a phenomenon which ameliorates the dissatisfaction of the masses and evokes hopes of better conditions within the capitalist mode of economy.⁴³

Vynnychenko believed that the establishment of a revolutionary proletarian state in Ukraine would have an adverse effect on western-European capitalism. Since this did not occur, he thought that some programmatic amendments, based on the observations of Ukrainian communists living in Ukraine, were in order. Thus the lack of Ukrainian representatives at the Congress proved to be a crucial problem. The UCP was not admitted into the Congress on the grounds that each state could only be represented by one party. The CP(b)U, on the other hand, had its

⁴² *Ibid.*, p. 14.

⁴³ *Ibid.*, pp. 25-26.

rights revoked at the Congress, the rationale being given that it was an outgrowth of the RCP and not a separate party.⁴⁴ An embittered Vynnychenko wrote that it seemed the workers and peasants of Ukraine had not achieved the right to exist as a nation.

However, because one of the official tasks of Vynnychenko's mission had been to unite the UCP and CP(b)U, he therefore avoided harsh criticism of the Ukrainian Bolsheviks:

Every Ukrainian communist, including every member of the UCP, must steadfastly remember that there can be no animosity towards the CP(b)U. This is a native party our stronger brother who, by virtue of specific objective and subjective elements, is making mistakes.⁴⁵

Vynnychenko's experiences of Soviet rule had not altered his regard for a system of government based on workers' and peasants' soviets. He felt in 1920, and later in life, that the democratic system of soviets was the ideal form of government, but that this system was incapacitated by the centralism in Moscow.⁴⁶ He was certain that if all communists in Ukraine and abroad worked together, a successful national revolution would occur. Although the two major Communist Parties in Ukraine were not in agreement in 1920, he anticipated that in the future they would have common goals. Vynnychenko appealed to the parties not to be antagonistic towards each other, but to unite and not to entrust national liberation to foreign entities. In the autumn of 1920 he drew up a platform of three points to be followed in future by the Foreign Group and the UCP:

1) to expose the mistakes made by the Bolsheviks to the CP(b)U, the RCP, the European proletariat, and the working masses of Ukraine.

2) to correct these mistakes, not through adverseness or sabotage, or refusing to cooperate with the Bolshevik Parties, but through the more active organization of revolutionary activity among the Ukrainians.

3) to support the Soviet Ukrainian government in the most vehement way by entering into all its institutions and departments, by organizing a stronger Red Army, by revitalizing the economy,

⁴⁴ Volodymyr Vynnychenko, "Vidchyt pro poizdku do SRSR," Autumn, 1920, Vynnychenko Archive, no. 2; 6b, pp. 9-10.

⁴⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 16.

⁴⁶ Mykyta Shapoval, "Do prohramy Ukr. vyzvolennia," *Nova Ukraina* (Prague), vol. 2, no. 9, p. 69.

and by defending with words and deeds the existence of the Ukrainian Soviet Republic.⁴⁷

Why was Vynnychenko so muted in his criticism of the Ukrainian Bolsheviks? His idea of what was beneficial for Ukrainian statehood differed from that of his former colleagues of the Rada and the Directory. He did not consider the Ukrainian Bolsheviks to be enemies of the Ukrainian state, but rather its comrades who had developed inferiority complexes as communists because of feelings projected onto them by Russian chauvinism. The Ukrainian Bolsheviks, Vynnychenko reasoned, had to be convinced that in Ukraine national and social liberation are one, and that to be both a Ukrainian and a communist was not a contradiction in terms. As Mykyta Shapoval wrote in 1923:

A stateless nation which consists overwhelmingly of peasantry always represents "an incomplete nation" and occupies a place among the oppressed classes in the social structure of a given territory. An incomplete nation has only one class—that of the socially, nationally, and politically oppressed. And therefore the national revolutionary movement poses as a movement of progressive and even revolutionary liberation in its political, cultural, and economic aspects.⁴⁸

Permission to depart for Vienna was finally granted on August 4, 1920, and the delegates were already seated on the train when they were asked to disembark. They were told that the war in Poland made travel difficult for foreigners.⁴⁹ Eight days later Vynnychenko met with the Secretary of the Central Committee of the RCP, Krestinsky, who advised him to remain either in Moscow or in Petrograd. Although he admitted that there was no reason why the delegates should not be allowed to return to Vienna, Vynnychenko understood that they were being forcibly detained.

But on August 15, they received permission for their second trip to Kharkiv, where Vynnychenko found that indeed, as he had been told, peasant demonstrations and uprisings against the regime were a reality. Poltava province was rallying under the slogans of Makhno, the anarchist, whose troops captured and distributed Soviet goods to the populace. Not only the peasantry, but even the intelligentsia, which had once leaned toward socialism, was becoming Makhnovite. Rumours of the occupation of the Danzig Corridor and the capture of the Red Army stationed

⁴⁷ Vynnychenko, "Vidchyt pro poizdku . . ." p. 13.

⁴⁸ Shapoval, "Do prohramy . . ." p. 3.

⁴⁹ Vynnychenko, "Shchodennyk, bk. 9, p. 37.

there were rampant. General Wrangel's White Russian forces occupied the Don and the Kuban regions.

Vynnychenko held conversations in Kharkiv with various members of the UCP concerning these outbursts of national consciousness. However, just like its rival in Ukraine, the CP(b)U, the UCP refused to become involved in the leadership of the masses.⁵⁰ Both parties were repeating the error perpetrated by the RCP, the inducement of revolution externally and from the top.

This added to the critical situation by increasing the masses' disenchantment with the regime. Though the Moscow officials were sending reinforcements to help those divisions of the Red Army that were fleeing in panic, Vynnychenko was skeptical of a Bolshevik victory. The workers and peasants took no initiative to involve themselves in the struggle, although local commissars anticipated armed peasant revolts if General Wrangel's troops were to occupy the area. This, reasoned the commissars, would provoke the Ukrainian intelligentsia to go out into the countryside to organize the peasants against the Whites. The local Bolsheviks were so frightened of the thought of Ukrainian cooperatives or communes becoming sympathetic to the Petliurites in the future that the commissars crushed any attempts at an organized movement. These tactics, based solely on the conjecture that a Petliurite organization might evolve in the future, would only help the counterrevolutionary forces, Vynnychenko wrote. They would result in the destruction of Soviet rule in Ukraine and also in Russia.⁵¹

Further discussions concerning permission to return to Vienna brought Vynnychenko in contact with Manuisky and Rakovsky of the Kharkiv Politburo. The talks again led to the topic of his membership in the CP(b)U and in the government.⁵² Although Manuisky promised him that, as a government official, he would have the right to promote any forms of Ukrainization he thought desirable, Vynnychenko understood the relationship between Moscow and Kharkiv too well to believe him. The commissions offered to him—People's Commissar of Foreign Affairs and Chairman of the Council of People's Commissars—would only be positions on paper.⁵³ Vynnychenko did not desire only the privilege of being named a commissar; rather, he wished to become involved in the solution of problems. He asked how could one integrate the

⁵⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 46.

⁵¹ *Ibid.*, p. 52.

⁵² *Ibid.*, p. 55.

⁵³ *Ibid.*, p. 62.

countryside into the industrial market so that the peasants could also benefit from industrialization; what methods would serve to minimize speculation, bribery, and illegal trade in the economy while the people were starving.⁵⁴

Vynnychenko's entry into the government was to be finalized by a written declaration from him to the Politburo of the CP(b)U. On September 9, 1920, Rakovsky informed him that his declaration had been reviewed and rejected.⁵⁵ The Bolsheviks had anticipated that the declaration would contain Vynnychenko's written approval of the policies and program of the CP(b)U as well as a refutation of the repression of Ukrainian statehood. Vynnychenko, however, refused to alter his statement in any form. Thus he was barred from the Politburo, and he refused to join either the CP(b)U or the government, even though his appointments to official positions had already been printed in the press and Manuilsky had ratified them with his signature. Rumours of Vynnychenko's appointment to the premiership in place of Rakovsky thrived, and a few nonpartisan Ukrainians visited him to discuss the possibility of a new reawakening of Ukraine with Vynnychenko in the government. This prompted the Kharkiv Politburo to telegraph the Moscow Politburo, asking it to review Vynnychenko's case.⁵⁶ That the Ukrainian Politburo found it more important to indulge in this purely bureaucratic gesture than to establish an alliance with the Foreign Group so infuriated Vynnychenko that he refused to maintain any formal ties with the Kharkiv officials. On September 16, 1920, Vynnychenko returned to Moscow, and on September 23 the delegates were on their way back to Vienna.

Upon returning to his own political émigré milieu, Vynnychenko initiated a campaign to expose the mistakes of the Bolshevik parties to the European proletariat and socialist intelligentsia at public meetings and by writing pamphlets and articles in the journal *Nova doba*. He said that by refusing to join the ideas in the program of the Foreign Group to their own programs, the UCP and, in particular, the CP(b)U were negating their very *raison d'être*—the dictatorship of the proletariat—in favour of economic and political expediency. By destroying the centers of economic planning in Ukraine and prohibiting the Ukrainian state from realizing its own economic life, the regime prevented the reorganization of society by the workers and peasants along communist lines.⁵⁷ Even if the Central Committees of the UCP and

⁵⁴ *Ibid.*

⁵⁵ *Ibid.*

⁵⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 63.

⁵⁷ Vynnychenko, "Vidchyt pro poizdku . . ." p. 10.

the CP(b)U were sincere in their desire to promote the cause of revolution in Ukraine, the apparatus for carrying out this revolution had to come from the Ukrainian centers themselves—the cities and villages—and only then could the Party engage in the organization and coordination of revolutionary activity. Therefore it was very important that the economy and the political programs of the Ukrainian state remain exclusively in the hands of a Ukrainian communist party, along the lines of what Vynnychenko envisioned a communist party to be, because revolution could not be imported from a foreign state, and any efforts on the part of the Russian communists to do so would mean oppression for the Ukrainian people. Instances of such a policy could already be cited.

As a communist, Vynnychenko grasped the necessity to consolidate and concentrate the economy and program of a given state. However, what he objected to in the relationship between Ukraine and Russia was the centralization benefitting only one state—Russia—and only one class—the petite bourgeoisie. His alternative to the existing structure was a federated and consolidated utilization of resources according to a policy voluntarily drawn up by internally independent and equal states.⁵⁸

Although Vynnychenko was critical of the Russian and Ukrainian communists whom he had come to know so well in Moscow and Kharkiv, he continued to believe that only a program of a communist party, realized in its every aspect, could fulfil all the demands of the spiritual and material development of the masses. Only a government possessing a socialist character could undertake the education of the abandoned and most oppressed population. Interspersed throughout his criticism of the regime in Ukraine was praise for the government for having created immense opportunities for the masses along limited avenues of development.

However, Vynnychenko was decreed a counterrevolutionary and, after the publication of a few derogatory articles against him in Ukraine, his mission, his literature, and his very existence were forgotten. But his criticism of the Soviet state as well as of the Rada and the Directory has not gone entirely unnoticed. Perhaps in the future his works shall gain popular appeal, and his uncompromising and severe judgement will no longer remain in the form of obscure treatises withering away on the shelves of the Vynnychenko Archive collection at Columbia University. The span of time separating the revolutionary period in Ukraine from the

⁵⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 10.

present is long enough to warrant a sober analysis of Vynnychenko's political career, as well as of his socialist and communist comrades. His arrogance, his indulgence in faultfinding, and his antagonism towards other politicians have all contributed to the omission of Vynnychenko from scholarly studies. It is important, however, to realize that the problems which men like Vynnychenko had tried to deal with from 1917 to 1920 have not yet disappeared. They still recur daily in different aspects and degrees in the Soviet bloc. Bureaucracy, national discrimination, and the exclusion of the countryside from enjoying the benefits of industrial consumer goods are only some of the contemporary problems of the Soviet Union which have their roots in the early revolutionary period. The controversy surrounding Vynnychenko, his colleagues, and the revolutionary years in which they worked should compel historians to make a fresh analysis of that period.

Yury Boshyk

A CHAPTER FROM THE HISTORY OF THE UKRAINIAN DIASPORA: M. DRAHOMANOV'S *HROMADA*, THE UKRAINIAN PRINTING HOUSE IN GENEVA, AND A. M. (KUZMA) LIAKHOTSKY

We are today witnessing the growth of scholarly research and discussion on the history of Ukrainian immigration to Canada and the United States. While this development should be welcomed, it is lamentable that very little interest has been shown in the history and experiences of Ukrainian emigrations to other parts of the world. An awareness of this history would allow us to view the achievements as well as the tasks ahead for scholarly research and for Ukrainian communities throughout the world with greater understanding and insight.

This year gives us the partial opportunity to redress this imbalance, for 1978 marks the hundredth anniversary of the publication of the first explicitly political Ukrainian periodical—Hromada—which appeared in Geneva in 1878 under the editorship of Mykhailo Drahomanov. 1978 marks also the sixtieth anniversary of the death of Antin Liakhotsky, a relatively unknown figure in Ukrainian history, the actual printer of Hromada and manager of what became known as the “Ukrainska Drukarnia” (Ukrainian Printing House) established by Drahomanov in Geneva.¹

In our rather modest efforts at commemorating these two anniversaries and honouring the achievements of these two men, we are publishing some selected and hitherto unpublished photographs of A. M. Liakhotsky found in the Evhen Batchinsky Collection, Special Collections, MacOdrum Library, Carleton University, Ottawa, Canada.² It is not the purpose of

¹ For details about Liakhotsky's life see: Serhii Iefremov's obituary of Liakhotsky in *Nova Rada*, 17 May 1918; Evhen Batchinsky, “Ukrainska Drukarnia v Zhenevi,” *Naukovyi Zbirnyk*, II (New York, 1953), 58-104; *Entsyklopediia Ukrainoznavstva* (Paris-New York, 1962) 4:1403. The Soviet *Ukrainska Radianska Entsyklopediia* and the four-volume *Radianska Entsyklopediia Istorii Ukrainy* (Kiev, 1969-72) contain no entries on Liakhotsky.

² I would like to thank Mr. Jeremy Palin, Special Collections Librarian at Carleton University, for his permission to publish the Liakhotsky photographs in the Batchinsky Archive and for his help in handling the technical details and selection of photographs. I would also like to thank Mr. Ivan Jaworsky for his assistance. Several photographs of Liakhotsky have already been published: two appeared in Batchinsky, *op. cit.*, p. 83 and p. 85; and one in *M. P. Drahomanov. Literaturno-publistsystychni*

this article to describe in detail the history of these two men who, along with the emigres Serhii Podolynsky, Mykola Ziber, Fedir Vovk, and Mykhailo Pavlyk, made a considerable contribution to Ukrainian history and to several areas of Ukrainian, Russian, and general world culture. This story has been told elsewhere in great detail and with considerable insight.³ Rather, the purpose here is to give a brief description of the historical events and the personalities involved in order to explain the photographs to our readers and to establish the significance of Liakhotsky's and Drahomanov's involvement with Hromada and primarily with the Ukrainian Printing House in Geneva.

In 1876 Mykhailo Drahomanov left Ukraine never to return. He was sent abroad by the "Committee of Twelve" composed of members from both the Kiev and Odessa "Stari Hromady" (Old Societies), cultural and semipolitical clandestine groupings of Ukrainian intellectuals active in the national movement.⁴ Drahomanov was to act as spokesman for the increasingly persecuted Ukrainian national movement, carry out an extensive publication programme to inform the European public about the situation and aspirations of the Ukrainian national movement, and to publish forbidden materials in Ukrainian that were to be smuggled back into Ukraine.

The necessity for this arose out of the fact that in May of 1876 the Tsar issued a decree (the Ems Ukaz) that forbade the publication of books and other materials in the Ukrainian language. Fearing that the Ukrainian national movement by its advocacy of Ukrainian autonomy within a federated Russia and its

pratsi (Kiev, 1970), I:448, which is the same photo found in Batchinsky, p. 83; another photograph of Liakhotsky can be found in Symon Narizhny, *Ukrainska Emigratsiia* (Prague, 1942), p. I, later republished in *Entsyklopediia Ukrainoznavstva*, *op. cit.*

³ See especially John-Paul Himka, "Polish and Ukrainian Socialism: Austria, 1867-1890" (Ph.D. diss., University of Michigan, 1977); Mykhailo Hrushevsky, *Z pochyniv ukrainskoho sotsiialistychnoho rukhu. Mykhailo Drahomanov i zhenevskiy sotsiialistychnyi hurtok* (Vienna, 1933; Boris Rogozin, "The Politics of Mikhail P. Dragomanov: Ukrainian Federalism and the Question of Political Freedom in Russia" (Ph.D. diss., Harvard University, 1966); Ivan L. Rudnitsky, ed., *Mykhailo Drahomanov. A Symposium and Selected Writings* (New York, 1952). The Polish historian E. Hornowa has recently completed a study of Drahomanov on the Polish question. It was unavailable to me during the preparation of this article. See Elżbieta Hornowa, *Problemy polskie w twórczości Mikhała Drahomanowa* (Wrocław, 1978).

⁴ Hrushevsky, *op. cit.*, p. 51.

HROMADA

RECUEIL OUKRAINIEN

Rédigé par

MICHEL DRAGOMANOW

ГРОМАДА

УКРАЇНСЬКА ЗБІРКА

ВПОРЯДКОВАНА

МИХАЇЛОМ ДРАГОМАНОВИМ

№ 1.

ПЕРЕДНЬЕ СЛОВО ДО „ГРОМАДИ“

GENÈVE

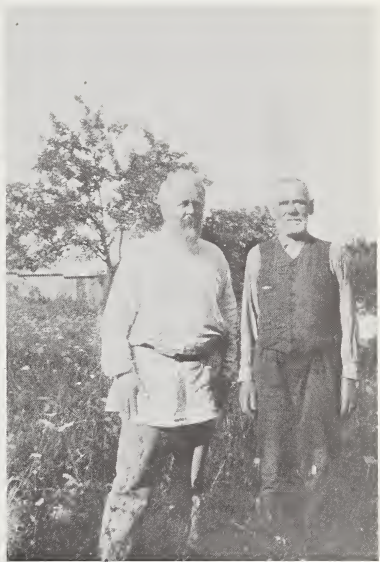
H. GEORG. LIBRAIRE-EDITEUR

1878



2. *A. M. (Kuzma) Liakhotsky, Geneva, 29 May 1891.* Reproduced from an original photograph in the Batchinsky Collection, Special Collections, MacOdrum Library, Carleton University, Ottawa, Canada.

3. *Liakhotsky with Friends.* No date, inscription, or indication of place. Left to right: Maria Rulev, Liakhotsky's wife; Antin Liakhotsky; and Dr. Leon Weber-Bauler, head of the French colony in Geneva, standing. The other individuals are unidentified. Reproduced from an original photograph in the Batchinsky Collection, Special Collections, MacOdrum Library, Carleton University, Ottawa.



4. Liakhotsky, third from the left, with perhaps some members of the Geneva-based mountaineering club of which he was a member. No date, place, or inscription. Reproduced from an original photograph in the Batchinsky Collection, Special Collections, MacOdrum Library, Carleton University, Ottawa.

5. *Liakhotsky with Pavel Biriukov, Onex, Switzerland.* No date. Biriukov (left) was a disciple and close friend of Leo Tolstoy and a noted Tolstoyan scholar. Reproduced from an original photograph in the Batchinsky Collection, Special Collections, MacOdrum Library, Carleton University, Ottawa.

support of social causes presented a major threat to the established order, the Tsarist government moved to ban publications in the Ukrainian language—the national movement's umbilical cord to the "people" and other Ukrainian intellectuals.⁵

After some initial difficulties, Drahomanov finally established himself in Geneva in the autumn of 1876. This city was in many respects a natural setting for the scholarly and highly political Drahomanov. Geneva was full of political emigrés from the Russian Empire, and it also had the advantage of being at that time one of the most liberal and civilized cities in the world. Thus, far from the Russian censors' restrictions and beyond the ever wary Austro-Hungarian officials, Drahomanov began to concentrate his efforts on carrying out the mandate and responsibilities assigned to him by his colleagues in Ukraine.

One of the major tasks before him was the publication of a periodical in the Ukrainian language to be called *Hromada*. The envisaged publication plan (which besides *Hromada*, also included pamphlets and books) led Drahomanov to seek out the possibilities of purchasing a printing press so that his project would be completely independent. The financial arrangement arrived at with the "Committee of Twelve" in Kiev led Drahomanov to assume that the financial base for these efforts would make such a purchase possible.⁶ Because of his ideological sympathy towards anarchist ideology Drahomanov quickly came into contact with the Russian Bakuninists in Geneva, who were putting out the newspaper *Rabotnik*, the first Russian-language newspaper for the working class. Although published abroad, *Rabotnik* was destined for working-class readership inside Russia. This newspaper, however, did not have a long life, for by the spring of 1876 it ceased publication after fifteen issues due to the collapse of the *Rabotnik* organizations inside Russia.⁷ It was then that

⁵ For a good survey of the various decrees and laws against the Ukrainian language in Russian Ukraine, see the English-language introduction by Basil Dmytryshyn in Fedir Savchenko, *Zaborona ukrainstva 1876 r.* (Munich, 1970), pp. xv-xxix.

⁶ According to the sources cited in Rogosin, p. 461, 1,500 rubles were sent to Geneva in 1876; in 1877 and 1878 3,000 rubles were sent. Drahomanov took only 800 rubles per year as his salary even though he was entitled to 1,600 rubles. See also Batchinsky, pp. 65-66.

⁷ Hrushevsky, p. 60. See also Franco Venturi, *Roots of Revolution: A History of the Populist and Socialist Movements in Nineteenth Century Russia* (New York, 1966), p. 529; E. Zaleski, *Mouvements ouvriers et socialistes (Chronologie et bibliographie)*, *La Russie* (Paris, 1956), 1: 43 states that fifteen issues of *Rabotnik* appeared.

Drahomanov reached a temporary agreement with the *Rabotnik* group to purchase their printing facilities in the near future. In the interim, some publications were printed under the impression of both *Rabotnik* and *Hromada*.⁸ In time the printing house became independent and known as the "Ukrainska Drukarnia" (Ukrainian Printing House).

While the technical details seem to have been arranged rather quickly, the matter of *Hromada's* contributors and co-workers still remained unresolved. The agreement reached in Kiev between Drahomanov and the "Committee of Twelve" stipulated that those individuals still in Ukraine would regularly contribute articles to *Hromada*, but in actuality this plan did not materialize to anywhere near Drahomanov's satisfaction.⁹ What could have become a critical situation was somewhat resolved by the fact that Drahomanov was able to attract a number of Ukrainian political emigrés to the project. By 1878 a number of interesting Ukrainian socialist emigrés crystallized into a working group around *Hromada* and other Ukrainian publications.¹⁰ In 1878 the first issue of *Hromada* appeared in Geneva; between 1878 and 1882 five volumes of *Hromada* under Drahomanov's editorship were published. These issues contained letters from Ukraine on the situation of the Ukrainian peasantry, many long articles by Drahomanov on contemporary and historical themes, and some Ukrainian belles lettres.¹¹

The appearance of *Hromada* had a profound effect on the Ukrainian national and socialist movement. Boris Rogosin, who studied Drahomanov's thought and life in detail, summarized the impact of *Hromada* in the following way:

Looking in retrospect, in spite of all its shortcomings, *Hromada* played a major role in the history of the Ukrainian movement. It found its way into the Ukraine with the help of Russian revolutionaries, especially those belonging to "Chernyi Peredel." It attempted to fuse socialism with the Ukrainian national movement, and its greatest influence and currency was among the younger

⁸ Batchinsky, p. 62.

⁹ For details see Rogosin, *op. cit.*, p. 461.

¹⁰ Hrushevsky, p. 75. Fedir Vovk, Serhii Podolynsky, Mykhailo Pavlyk, and Mykola Ziber were members of this group.

¹¹ Rogosin, p. 462. Two volumes of *Hromada* under the collective editorship of Drahomanov, Podolynsky, and Pavlyk appeared in 1881 as well. For a description of the contents of *Hromada* edited by Drahomanov and the collectively edited two volumes, see Rogosin, pp. 462-76.

generation of Ukrainians of the 'eighties' and the 'nineties,' when the "Drahomanovite Circles" avidly studied this journal. Even the unsympathetic Soviet sources had to agree that *Hromada* proved to be "the source of primary political education" for the young generation of Ukrainians.¹²

While many of these students and members of the younger generation did not necessarily join the Ukrainian movement, the federalism and the social questions raised by Drahomanov in *Hromada* shaped the opinions of several generations of political activists in Russia, the emigration, in Russian Ukraine, and in Galicia well into the twentieth century.¹³

From 1876 to 1918 the Ukrainian Printing House carried on its activity in Geneva, continuing to publish after Drahomanov's departure from Geneva in 1889 and even after his death in 1895. The man to whom the greatest credit is due for this activity and perseverance was the manager of the Ukrainian Printing House for thirty-nine years, Antin Mykhailovych Liakhotsky, commonly known in Geneva as Kuzma.

Unlike Drahomanov, Kuzma arrived in Geneva by chance, or rather by force of circumstance, and not of his own free will.¹⁴ Liakhotsky was born in 1853 in Zhytomyr in Volyn province, the son of an Orthodox priest. On completion of his elementary

¹² Ragosin, pp. 499-500. On the "Drahomanovite circles" see Iurii Lavrynenko, "Rukh Vilnoi Spilky (Do 100-littia ioho vidsichi na zabornu ukrainstva, 1876-1976)," *Ukrainskyi Istoryk*, nos. 1-4 (1976), pp. 14-47. It should be mentioned that many accounts by contemporaries of the 1890s testify to the general lack of knowledge about Drahomanov's ideas and works, especially by the late 1890s. This was to be expected as his books and pamphlets were forbidden by the Tsarist government. See, for example, V. Doroshenko, "Ukrainska studentska hromada u Moskv (1898-1905)," *Z Mynuloho* 2(1939):157; O. Mytsiuk, "Uryvky spohadiv i rozdumiv (1883-1920)," *Samostiina Dumka* (Chernivtsi), nos. 5-6 (1935), pp. 411-12; A. Zhuk's letter to V. Doroshenko, 4 April 1955, Volodymyr Doroshenko Archive, The Museum and Archive of the Ukrainian Free Academy of Arts and Sciences in the U.S., New York. Furthermore, several conservative leaders in Ukraine of the 1890s, O. Konysky among them, discouraged the youth from reading Drahomanov's works. See, for example, V. Bidnov, "Zabutyi diiach (Pamiaty O. Konyskoho)," *Literaturno-naukovyi vistnyk* 87 (July-August, 1925): 297.

¹³ This was especially the case in Galicia. See Himka, pp. 163-92.

¹⁴ M. Halyn, "Storinky z mynuloho," *Spohady* (Warsaw, 1932), p. 118 states incorrectly that Kuzma left Ukraine together with Drahomanov.

schooling, he forsook further education and took employment as a lowly clerk in the District Court in Kiev. His only involvement in Ukrainian matters at this time was his participation in Ukrainian amateur theatrical productions.¹⁵ Apparently Liakhotsky had also once been a student in one of the "Sunday schools" established by the Kiev Ukrainian "Hromada" (Society) in the Podol district of Kiev.¹⁶ These were not schools for religious instruction but, rather, schools run with the intention of providing basic literacy skills and general knowledge (not without Ukrainian content) to its students, who were mostly from the lower classes.¹⁷

To his great misfortune, Liakhotsky's involvement with the Ukrainian amateur theatre brought him into contact with a group of revolutionary youth who considered themselves to be "nihilists," advocates of revolutionary change through violence. Although he did not take part in their meetings and political activities, Kuzma did agree to store their literature in his apartment. When the group was discovered by the police and arrested, Liakhotsky was arrested as well.

He finally joined their ranks, but in prison. His newly found comrades apparently felt responsible for his incarceration, and when they managed to organize an escape to Austria Liakhotsky was included in their plans. But there Liakhotsky and his friends were once again arrested. They were put on trial but were soon cleared and allowed to go free.¹⁸ Not wishing to return to Ukraine, Liakhotsky finally found his way to Geneva in March, 1878; where he, like most political emigrés from Russia and Ukraine at that time, was introduced to Drahomanov.¹⁹ This meeting turned out to be of great significance for both men. Liakhotsky and Drahomanov found that they shared similar opinions on the necessity for Ukrainian autonomy within a federated Russia and on other social questions. As a result, for the next eleven years they

¹⁵ Batchinsky, p. 79.

¹⁶ Halyn, pp. 117-18.

¹⁷ There is a considerable amount of literature on the Sunday-school movement in Ukraine. For a summary in English see Rogosin, pp. 174-99. Professor Roman Serbyn of the Université du Québec à Montréal is presently completing a study on the Sunday-school movement in Ukraine.

¹⁸ Batchinsky, pp. 79-80; see Hrushevsky, pp. 59-60, for a somewhat different version.

¹⁹ Vera Zasulich, the famous Russian revolutionary, wrote that in the summer of 1878 Drahomanov "was the central figure of the Russian emigration in Switzerland" and "that every new arrival was first of all taken to him." Cited in Rogosin, p. 459.

were to work together: Drahomanov as the director of the Ukrainian Printing House and Liakhotsky as its manager.²⁰

Labouring under conditions that often bordered on the impossible, Drahomanov and Liakhotsky managed to put out a considerable number of pamphlets, journals, and books in the period of their active collaboration from 1878 to 1889. One estimate, by no means complete or entirely accurate, calculates that during this time the Ukrainian Printing House printed forty-nine books and pamphlets, and seven periodicals. The list of authors and works published reads like a veritable "who's who" of the Russian and Ukrainian political and cultural movement.²¹

As the manager of the Ukrainian Printing House, Kuzma seems not to have played a prominent role in Ukrainian or Russian emigré circles and politics, at least according to the usually very thorough French secret police reports. One such report, written from Switzerland in 1887 and dealing with the publishing activities of a "very militant" Russian emigré "Nihilist Party," makes no mention of Liakhotsky, but only of Drahomanov:

In Geneva this party has three printing houses: one on 7 route de Carouge directed by Jesinsky; one on rue Montbrillant of which the declared owner is Joukowski; and finally, the secret printing house in which Dragomanov works *alone* on the second floor of chemin Dancet, 19.²²

Three years later, in 1890, another secret police report, "The State of Russian Refugees and their Associates Residing in Geneva to January 1, 1890," again shows that the police had no register

²⁰ The relationship between Drahomanov and Liakhotsky became so close that Drahomanov treated Liakhotsky as a member of his own family. See A. Bauler [de Holstein], "Vospominaniia o M. P. Dragomanove," *Novyi Zhurnal*, no. 8 (1944), p. 328.

²¹ Batchinsky, pp. 69-70, 96-100.

²² France, Archives Nationales, F 7/12519-20, "Nihilistes et Anarchistes. Leurs rapports en France et en Suisse," Commissariat Special de police de Bellegarde, le 19 janvier, 1887 a le Ministere de l'Interieur, Direction de la Surete Generale. My emphasis. There are some obvious factual errors in this quoted passage: the press was not a "secret" press; Drahomanov did not work alone; the address of Drahomanov's press was 15 chemin Dancet and not 19. Nor was Drahomanov a "nihilist," but he was labelled so by the Russian and European governments, the European press, and even by European socialists. For evidence of this see Rogosin, p. 527.

of Liakhotsky, even though Drahomanov was mentioned as having left Geneva for Bulgaria.²³

The fact that Liakhotsky did not even merit an “honourable mention” in the secret agents’ reports could lead us to suppose that Liakhotsky did indeed keep a rather low political profile in Geneva. Yet it does seem rather surprising that the police neglected to report on his activities. After all, from 1899, that is, from the time of Drahomanov’s departure from Geneva, the Ukrainian Printing House was even housed in Liakhotsky’s flat.²⁴ Moreover, he was widely known throughout the Russian emigré community in Geneva as he did a great deal of printing for the political groups there, and this was, as we have seen, a matter of considerable concern to the French Ministry of the Interior. Finally Liakhotsky, although not as politically visible as Drahomanov, did nevertheless “come out publically” at least on one occasion when he, along with Drahomanov and M. Pavlyk, signed his name to a postscript of a printed proclamation in 1880.²⁵

Drahomanov’s departure from Geneva in 1889 to take up a position at the University in Sofia, Bulgaria, placed the entire direction of the Ukrainian Printing House in Liakhotsky’s hands. This certainly marked a new phase in the activity of the printing house, but it did not diminish its activity. Of course, Liakhotsky could have terminated the effort altogether, but being a “stubborn *kokhol*” he insisted on maintaining the printing house, which he ran right up to the year before his death in 1918.²⁶

From 1890 to 1917 (again based on a far from complete compilation), Liakhotsky printed forty-three pamphlets and books, four journals, and numerous proclamations in various languages.²⁷ Among some of the identifiable non-Ukrainian authors that were printed by the Printing House in this period were the following, in chronological order: S. Mirny (Prince D. I. Shklovsky), Rubakin, Russky (A. A. Ershova), Pavel I. Biriukov, V. Debagorii-Mokrievich, Vladimir Bonch-Bruevich, Leo Tolstoy, Maxim Gor-

²³ France, Archives Nationales, F 7/1219-20, “Etat des Réfugiés Russes et Affiliés résidant à Geneve à la date du 1er Janvier 1890,” Le Commissaire Special, Annemasse, le 19 août 1890, à le Ministère de l’Intérieur, Direction de la Sûreté Générale. I would like to thank Mr. Konstantin Huytan for his assistance in locating these archival materials.

²⁴ Batchinsky, p. 63.

²⁵ Rogosin, pp. 247-48.

²⁶ Bauler, p. 331.

²⁷ Batchinsky, p. 72, pp. 75-76, and especially pp. 100-04.

ky, A. P. Barykova (Kamenskaia) and I. Gardenin (V. Chernov).²⁸ Among the list of Ukrainian authors printed we find the works of Taras Shevchenko, Panteleimon Kulish, Lesia Ukrainka (author of a political pamphlet written under the initials S.D.), L. Rybalka (Lev Iurkevych), and, of course, the works of Drahomanov.²⁹

Ever since the Kiev "Hromada" completely cut off funds to Drahomanov in 1886, the Ukrainian Printing House found itself in very difficult circumstances. This situation did not change after Drahomanov's departure. Kuzma was forced to print not only revolutionary and subversive materials, but also such innocuous items as tickets for the Geneva trams.³⁰

As can be seen by the list of Russian authors that had their works printed at the Ukrainian Printing House, Liakhotsky's contacts with the organized Russian oppositionist movements were indeed extensive. In 1896 he established a good working and personal relationship with Pavel Biriukov (1860-1931), friend of Leo Tolstoy, Tolstoyan propagandist abroad, and the noted author of a major biography of Tolstoy.³¹ Besides publishing a variety of Tolstoyan pamphlets and proclamations, Liakhotsky also printed their periodical *Svobodnaia Mysl* (1899-1901), edited by P. Biriukov. The twenty-one issues that appeared contain a wealth of information about the Doukhobor sect, religious movements among the Ukrainian peasantry, and information about immigrants to Canada.³² In 1901 Liakhotsky also became the printer of pamphlets for the Russian Socialist Revolutionary Party, and in 1915 he helped V. Chernov, the leader of the Party, to establish the organization's printing press in Geneva.³³

Liakhotsky's relationship with the Ukrainian oppositionist movement was just as close if not closer than was his relationship with the Russian movement. His contacts with the socialist wing of the Ukrainian movement, that is, with the younger generation

²⁸ Batchinsky, pp. 100-04. We have supplemented and revised Batchinsky's list on the basis of some entries found in K. E. Carpenter, comp., *The Russian Revolutionary Literature Collection, Houghton Library, Harvard University* (New Haven, Conn., 1976).

²⁹ Batchinsky, pp. 100-04.

³⁰ V. Stepankivsky, "Volodymyr Vynnychenko" (Unpublished memoir, dated November 1956, New York), pp. 22-23. I would like to thank Professor Hryhorii Kostyuk for providing me with a copy of this most interesting memoir.

³¹ *Kratkaia Literaturnaia Entsiklopediia* (Moscow, 1962), 1:630.

³² Batchinsky, p. 72. Carpenter, p. 99, states that twenty-one issues were published.

³³ Batchinsky, p. 103.

of activists in Ukraine, were especially comradely. In the early years of this century he printed two pamphlets by the "Ukrainska sotsiial-demokratychna hrupa" (The Ukrainian Social-Democratic Group, 1897-1905), a small coterie of Ukrainian intellectuals and writers which included Lesia Ukrainka, Mykhailo Kotsiubynsky and Ivan Steshenko.³⁴ In 1900 the first political party in Russian Ukraine, the Revolutionary Ukrainian Party (1900-05), hoped to have its first periodical printed by Liakhotsky, but these plans never materialized.³⁵ To the younger generation of political emigrés who fled to the West after the suppression of the 1905 revolution, Liakhotsky provided an important link to the past efforts and achievements of the Ukrainian national and socialist movements. He inspired these revolutionaries by his very presence, so much so that he became known as the "patriarch" of the Ukrainian community in Geneva, serving as its head in 1906 and in 1915.³⁶ His conviction that the Ukrainian Printing House was at the service of the "people" and society³⁷ was reflected in the fact that he was willing to print both the revolutionary "autonomist," socialist Ukrainian writings of Lev Iurkevych as well as the proclamations of the independentist and highly nationalistic Soiuz Vyzvolennia Ukrainy (Union for the Liberation of Ukraine, 1914-18).³⁸ Even the list of Ukrainian activists and cultural figures that visited Liakhotsky in Geneva, a list that included individuals from all shades of the political spectrum, testifies to the respect in which he was held by several generations of his countrymen.³⁹

Liakhotsky was by all accounts a very gregarious personality. Although he shared the material and spiritual hardships typical of emigré life, he maintained a very strong instinct for life and

³⁴ Batchinsky, p. 103. For sources on the Social-Democratic Group see: P. Benzia, "Do istorii revoliutsiinoho rukhu na Ukraini," *Zhyttia i revoliutsiia*, no. 11 (1926), pp. 83-86; and the more recent study by Iurii Lavrynenko, "Ukrainska sotsiial-demokratiia (Hrupa USD) i ii lider Lesia Ukrainka," *Suchasnist*, no. 5 (1971), pp. 68-86; no. 6 (1971), pp. 56-71; nos. 7-8 (1971), pp. 132-50.

³⁵ See the report of the St. Petersburg Department of Police, October 1900, on Mykhailo Rusov, a RUP member who travelled to Geneva to discuss publication plans with Liakhotsky, in O. Hermaize, *Narysy z istorii revoliutsiinoho rukhu na Ukraini* (Kiev, 1926), 1:57.

³⁶ Stepanivsky, pp. 22-23; Batchinsky, p. 80.

³⁷ Bauler, p. 331.

³⁸ See Batchinsky, pp. 75-76 for the list of the "Union for the Liberation of Ukraine" proclamations, and pp. 72-73 and 104 for Iurkevych's publications.

³⁹ For the list of those who visited Liakhotsky see Batchinsky, p. 73.

companionship which he shared with friends from both the emigré circles and with individuals from Swiss society. His need and desire for social intercourse expressed itself in a variety of ways. From among his Ukrainian emigré companions he formed the famous *Klub marynovanoho oseledtsia* (Club of the Marinated Herring), whose activities fulfilled admirably its founder's intentions—close and warm companionship at the café, stimulating discussion accompanied by, or more likely stimulated by, strong spirits and the obligatory marinated herring.⁴⁰ And even despite his legendary inability to speak French after so many years in Geneva, Liakhotsky still managed to take an active part in the Swiss mountaineering club of Geneva.⁴¹

With the coming of the Russian and Ukrainian revolutions of 1917 Liakhotsky was quite ill but living peacefully near Lausanne at the home of his friend, Dr. Iuriev. His enthusiasm on hearing the news of the revolution can only be imagined, for despite his failing health he began to prepare for his return home. He longed to be of service to his people and hoped that upon returning to Ukraine he would be able to run for the position of mayor in his hometown of Zhytomyr. Liakhotsky, however, never managed to leave Switzerland. On April 24, 1918, Antin Mykhailovych Liakhotsky died in Lausanne at the age of sixty-five in the thirty-ninth year of his emigration from Ukraine.⁴²

It would be too obvious to conclude this brief survey of Liakhotsky's life and contribution to Ukrainian and Russian political and cultural history by stating that his death in the moment of victory, as it were, could be viewed as a great personal tragedy. Without question it indeed was exactly that. Yet one would also like to see that in his desire to return to Ukraine and be of service to his people there was a feature that so well characterized the man and his activity.

⁴⁰ Batchinsky, pp. 82-83.

⁴¹ Batchinsky, p. 82. An example of the many anecdotes about and by Liakhotsky concerning his knowledge of French can be found in Stepankivsky, pp. 24-25:

Не був він [Винниченко] аж такий відпорний як, наприклад, Кузьма, що по 30-ти роках в Женеві ледве склав два чи три слові по французьки, але ж таки був до чужих мов мало що здібний. Кузьма нам оповідав за себе, як, раз, захотівши ковбаси він зайшов до склепика, але не знав як ковбаса зветься по французьки. Ткнув одже пальцем на невелику ковбасу тай дав до зрозуміння крамареві, що це є річ по яку він прийшов. Були там ковбаси всілякої довжини; "Комм са?" [*Comme ça*] чемно питає ковбасник, показуючи йому ковбасу. "Комм са, і ще пів-коммси", відповів Кузьма, здивувавшись і зрадівши, що ковбаса по-французьки майже так само як по-українському!

⁴² Batchinsky, p. 82.

We have seen that for thirty-nine years Liakhotsky remained manager of the Ukrainian Printing House and that for eleven of those years he collaborated closely with Mykhailo Drahomanov, the founder of the printing press and one of the most gifted scholars and politicians of his day. Was it out of loyalty to Drahomanov that Liakhotsky began and ended his days in Geneva bound to the Ukrainian Printing House? This was certainly the opinion of one contemporary, who wrote that Liakhotsky's main motivation for persevering with the Ukrainian Printing House was his desire to pay homage "to the memory of his friend and teacher" Drahomanov.⁴³ While this epitaph of sorts could stand as an honourable memorial to Liakhotsky's service and loyalty to Drahomanov, it does not do complete justice to his commitment. For like Drahomanov, Liakhotsky's sustaining dedication to their common project—the Ukrainian Printing House—rested on a foundation that was just as deep as personal friendship and loyalty. Both he and Drahomanov shared the conviction that they were first of all contributing to the "political, social, and cultural progress of man and society" and in this way serving "the cause of welfare and enlightenment" of the Ukrainian people.⁴⁴ Perhaps in that regard their final and most worthy epitaphs are yet to be written.

⁴³ Bauler, p. 333.

⁴⁴ These quoted excerpts are from Drahomanov's *Chudatsky dumky pro ukrainsku natsionalnu spravu* (Kiev, 1913), pp. 153-54, as cited and translated by Rogosin, pp. 349-50.

UKRAINIAN BETWEEN OLD BULGARIAN, POLISH, AND RUSSIAN ¹

Ukrainian is a typical intermediary language in the Slavic linguistic group. Though phonetically and morphologically East Slavic, it is lexically closely connected with the West Slavic branch, notably with the Polish language.²

The split of the Ukrainian linguistic soul between the East and West is a product of the past six centuries. Before that time it belonged in the East. We can assume that the spoken language of the Ruthenian-Ukrainian people then had relatively few foreign admixtures.

I have used the word "assume" because the spoken Old Ukrainian had practically no literature. The written language was Bulgarian, which with the passage of time became an increasingly more mixed Bulgarian-Ruthenian.³ This mixture happened all the more easily since the awareness of differences between Bulgarian and Ruthenian barely existed in Kievan Rus. The *Tale of Bygone Years* (*Poveist' vremennykh' leit'*) used the same adjective "Slavic" for both the Old Bulgarian literature (*hramota sloven'skaja*) and the vernacular of the leading old Ukrainian tribe, the Polanians (*sloven'skaa reich'*).

The Ruthenization or Ukrainization of Old Bulgarian depended on genre and theme: the less religious, rhetorical, or official a text was, the more Ruthenian it normally became. To check on this, it is sufficient to compare the language of Prince

¹ The East Slavic Cyrillic alphabets are transliterated according to the Library of Congress system but with the following alterations due to a lack of diacritical marks: yod is conveyed as *j*, the Ukrainian "yee" letter as *ji* and, in White Ruthenian, the u-glide is rendered as *w* and the "yo" letter as *jo*. For Old and Middle Ukrainian the digraph *ei* has been used to represent the *yat'*.

² Cf. Nikolaj S. Trubetskoj, "Obshcheslavjanskij element v russkoj kul'ture." *K probleme russkogo samopoznaniia* (Paris, 1927).

³ This was a generally accepted view until 1934, when S. P. Obnorsky advanced a reverse hypothesis about the Bulgarianization of an originally purely "Russian" literary language which was formed in the prehistoric period [without literature!]. Odd as it is, the theory "has been included in all official curricula and textbooks on the history of Russian." (S. P. Obnorsky, *Izbrannye raboty po russkomu jazyku* [Moscow, 1960], pp. 16-19).

Oleh's treaty with the Greeks of 972, included in the *Tale of Bygone Years* of the early twelfth century, with a sample of that chronicle which immediately follows the text of the treaty, concerning concrete local events. I am taking the reflexes of proto-Slavic liquid diphthongs as the most convenient gauge. In the 972 treaty, Ruthenian pleonastic forms (*horodov''*, *zoloto*, etc.) accounted for a mere 24.3 percent against 75.7 percent Bulgarian forms (such as *vlast'*, *stranu*, *prezherechenykh''*). But in the following text of the chronicle, the interrelation becomes reversed: 66.7 percent Ruthenian forms (such as *poroh''*, *polon''*, *volost'*) against 33.3 percent Bulgarian (such as (*brash'na*, *hladu*, *hlava*)).⁴

A delicate question for Ukrainians, involving their national prestige, is to what extent the language of Old Ukrainian literature is continued in Modern Ukrainian in comparison with Russian: the superficial impression is that Russian is, unfortunately, more Old Ukrainian than Modern Ukrainian is. This impression is correct. If we take the first 132 words in the *Tale of Bygone Years* and translate them into both Modern Ukrainian and Russian, we will find that fifty-two of these words are continued in Modern Ukrainian, while fifty-eight are continued in Russian. In most cases of continuation both languages overlap. Where they don't is in the following paragraphs.

Modern Ukrainian retains the following words which do not exist in Russian: *bo* (because), *lytvyn* (Lithuanian), *maty* (to have), *uhors'kyj* (Hungarian). But Russian retains the following words not used in Modern Ukrainian: *zhe* (and), *Dnepr* (the Dnieper), *s* (with), *zapad* (west), *zapadnyj* (western), *vostok* (east), *prochij* (other), *strana* (country), *nachat'* (to begin), *chast'* (part). In this comparison I have counted only the most standard words. The greater retention of Old Ruthenian in Russian can be partly explained by a better preservation of Old Bulgarian elements (e.g., *prochij*, *strana*, and *vostok* in our comparison).

Modern Ukrainian is much poorer in Old Bulgarianisms than Russian. We can easily draft a long list of examples to illustrate the difference: *voloha* (humidity) in Ukrainian vs. *vlaga* in Russian; *volodity* (to control) vs. *vladet'*; *volokty* and *volochyty* (to drag) vs. *vlech'* and *vlachit'*; *vorotar* (gatekeeper) vs. *vratar'*; *voroh* (enemy) vs. *vrag*; *poveredyty* (to damage) vs. *povredit'* (to limit ourselves to examples with roots beginning with a *v*-).

⁴ In my calculation I multiplied the number of words by the number of their uses in order to grasp the real specific weight of Ruthenian and Bulgarian elements more objectively (to avoid counting, for example, one often repeated word on the same footing as many unrepeatd words).

From the viewpoint of the preservation of Old Bulgarianisms, the Ukrainian language holds a place between Russian and White-Ruthenian (also known as Belorussian). Where Ukrainian uses some Old Bulgarianisms as synonyms to purely Ukrainian words, White-Ruthenian often has native words only: Ukrainian *vrah* and *voroh* (enemy) vs. White-Ruthenian *vorah* only; Ukrainian *prapor* and *stjah* (banner) vs. White-Ruthenian *stsjah*; Ukrainian *blaho* and *dobro* (good) vs. White-Ruthenian *dabro* only; *nevihlas* and *neuk* (ignoramus) vs. White-Ruthenian *nevuk* only. In some other cases Ukrainian Old Bulgarianisms are replaced in White-Ruthenian by Polonisms: *predok* (ancestor) vs. *prodak*, from Polish *przodek*; *prezyrstvo*, synonymous with *pohorda* (contempt) vs. White-Ruthenian *paharda*, from Polish *pogarda*. The preservation of Old Bulgarianisms in the three East Slavic languages is in reverse proportion to the discontinuity in their literary development which was the least in Russian and the greatest in White-Ruthenian.

Even in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, when both developed under similar conditions, Ukrainian preserved Old Bulgarianisms better, whereas White-Ruthenian was more receptive to Polonisms.⁵ It is interesting to note here that while translating such Ukrainian poets as Shevchenko and Tychna White-Ruthenian translators would replace Ukrainian Old Bulgarianisms with White-Ruthenian vernacular words.⁶ Only in exceptional cases have the Ukrainian and White-Ruthenian languages better preserved Old-Bulgarian borrowings than Russian (e.g., *mytnytsja* and *mynitsa* [custom office] vs. the Russian Turcism *tamozhnja*).

There were two revivals of Bulgarianisms in Ukrainian: the so-called second South-Slavic influence, an orthographical reform which spread from Bulgaria to all Orthodox peoples using the Old-Bulgarian liturgical language in the late fourteenth century; and the revival of the Old-Bulgarian-based church language during the struggle against Catholicism in the late sixteenth century.

From the viewpoint of an historian of the Ukrainian language, the two revivals should be negatively assessed because they hindered the vernacular from penetrating the church, education,

⁵ U. V. Anichenka, *Belaruska-ukrainskija pis'mova-mownyja suviasi* (Minsk, 1969); *idem*, *Ab palanizmakh u belaruskaj pis'mennastsi i ikh adpavednikakh va ukrainskaj u XVI-XVII st.st. Z zhytstsja rodnahe slova* (Minsk, 1968), pp. 35-44.

⁶ E. Martynava, "Mastatski peraklad jak forma belaruska-ukrainskikh literaturnykh uzajemasuvjazej," in *Staronki literaturnykh suviaziej* (Minsk, 1970), pp. 81, 82, 84, 87.

and serious literature. Consequently, Ukrainians created only a Ruthenian recension of the Old-Bulgarian Bible (published in Ostrih in 1581) instead of a Ukrainian equivalent to the Lutheran or King James Bibles.

On the other hand, by advancing Old Bulgarian in defence of tradition and church, the innate Ukrainian conservatism and proverbial stubbornness ("as stubborn as a Ruthenian" is an old Polish proverb) protected Ukrainian from that measure of Polonization which is so striking in White-Ruthenian. (The struggle against the religious union with Rome was also much stronger in Ukraine than in White Ruthenia, which explains the Ukrainian union with Orthodox Russia at Pereiaslav in 1654.)

Since the radical turn to vernacular Ukrainian at the end of the eighteenth century, there has no longer been any danger from Old Bulgarian. The more distant its usage is in the past, the more a kind of nostalgia for it appears among some Ukrainians. Its positive value in building a bridge between the past and the present is felt. Ivan Lysiak-Rudnytsky wrote in 1943 that it was a pity that Kotliarevsky had made too abrupt a break with the old language based on Church Slavonic.⁷ In fact, Kotliarevsky continued to use many Old Bulgarianisms, but by placing them in a parodistic context he began the process of their ridiculing and degrading which removed them from the neutral language. Today many Ukrainians use Old Bulgarianisms precisely for a humorous aim: *strakha rady i judejs'ka* ("out of Jewish fear"), *i izhe z nymy* ("and those who are with them.")

Governed by more serious motives than Kotliarevsky, the writers Shevchenko and Panteleimon Kulish tried to revivify some Old Bulgarianisms as instruments of a dignified and lofty style. We can quote an example from Shevchenko, stressing his Bulgarianisms:

*Prebezumnyj v sertsy skazhe,
shcho Boha nemaje,
v bezzakoniji merzije,
ne tvoryt' blahaja.
A Boh dyvyt'sja: chy je shche
vzyskajushchyj Boha?
Nema dobre tvorjashchoho,
nema ni odnoho!*

⁷ I. Lysiak-Rudnytsky, "Rozмова pro barokko" in *Novi dni* (Lviv) no. 7 (1943), reprinted in his *Mizh istorijeju i politykoju* (Munich, 1973), p. 54.

But the later populist literature did not continue those efforts to ennoble the vernacular with Church Slavonicisms and thus to give it a taint of aristocratic historicism. The populist slogan was to imitate the language of "the rural old woman," as Nechuj-Levytsky put it.

It was only after outgrowing "populism" at the end of the nineteenth century that Old-Bulgarian elements began to recover a place in the language for various stylistic purposes. One modern attempt is very interesting: an entire poem written by Oleksander Stefanovych is an imitation of Old Ruthenian pervaded with Old Bulgarianisms. We are quoting it here with Bulgarianisms stressed:

"Z *litopysu*" ("From the Chronicle")

Bi *ko* pojatym *hlas* vytjazja:

"Kako tolyko vas, hosty,

I ne mohoste odbytysja,

Ne pobihoste?"

I *odvishchakhu*, *hlaholjushche*:

"Kako nam bytysja s vamy:

Tsiloje bykhom pobjishche

Vslaly tilamy.

Had Ruthenia-Ukraine not lost its independence in the fourteenth century, the present-day Ukrainian language would have been as strongly Bulgarian-influenced as present-day Russian. But in the case of Ukrainian, the place of Bulgarian was taken by Polish. As soon as the western part of Ruthenia was conquered by Poland in 1349, Polonisms started to appear in documents. For example, in the first charter issued by the Polish King Casimir III in newly conquered Galicia, shortly after 1349, we find such Polonisms as *slushati* (to belong); *hajik* (little grove showing the border of landed property); *sveidok* (witness); *pan* (sir)⁸; *list* (letter). The occupier's official documents in the language of the conquered opened the gates through which a stormy tide of Polonisms started to spill over the whole of Ukraine, almost submerging the Ukrainians' sense of their native language (at least among the educated). Some texts written by Ukrainians in the

⁸ T. Lehr-Spławiński in *Wzajemne wpływy polsko-ruskie w dziedzinie językowej* (1928) maintained, though, that it was a proto-Slavic word and therefore incorrectly resisted by modern Ukrainian patriots in Galicia as Polish (see his *Studia i szkice wybrane z językoznawstwa słowiańskiego*, seria 2 [Warsaw, 1966], p. 141), but I think that those patriots were right.

peak period of Polonisms—the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries—seem even to be in Polish, though in the Cyrillic alphabet.⁹

Here is one example: *Historija pravdyvaja o hrabeinej Altdorskoj* (“A True Story of the Countess of Altdorf”), translated from Polish in the seventeenth century. Its language is so Polonized that a Polish original can be easily restored without even searching. I will quote the beginning of that story, first in English to show the sense, then in the language of the assumed source, then in the original, and finally in contemporary Ukrainian to show how much Modern Ukrainian has freed itself from “Babylonian Captivity” by the Middle-Polish language and culture.

In Germany, in the Bavarian land, half a mile from Ravensburg towards Bodensee, stands a well-kept castle named Altdorfen. This is the home of noble counts of the Reich who are called *welfs* there, named whelps in Polish.

W Niemczech, w ziemi Bawarskiej, pół mili od Rawenszporgu ku Dennemu jezioru leży ochędóżny zamek imieniem Altdorfen. Jest to dom zacnych grofów w Rzeszech, ktore tam gwelfami zowa, co się po polsku imionuje (mianuje) wyżetki.

V Neimchekh, v zemly Alharskoj [sic, instead of Bavarskoj], polmyli ot Ravenshporhu ku Dennomu jezioru lezhyt okhendozhnyj zamok ymenem Altdorfem. Jest to dom zatsnykh hrofov v Reshekh, kotrie tam hvelfamy zovut, shcho sja po polsku ymenue vyzhelky.

U Nimechchyni, v zemli bavars'kij, pivmyli vid Ravensburga v bik Bodenzee, stojit' chepurnyj zamok imenem Al'tdorfen. Tse dim blahorodnykh hrafiv u Rajkhu, jakykh tam zvut' vel'famy, shcho po-ukrajins'ky nazyvajut'sja sobachky.

It is almost unbelievable that the seventeenth-century translator could forget even such elementary Ukrainian words as *ozero* (lake). But this is what happens if one thinks in a foreign but related language. In my translation into Modern Ukrainian I have changed the phrase “named in Polish” into “named in Ukrainian” because the translation is now based on a Ukrainian, and not Polish, orientation.

But even after my modern cosmetics, the text still contains the Polonism *zamok* (castle), a loan-word translated from the German *schloss*; however, *zamok* in the sense of “lock” is not

⁹ Cf. T. Lehr-Splawinski, P. Zwolinski, S. Hrabec, *Dzieje języka ukraińskiego w zarysie* (Warsaw, 1956), p. 44.

a Polonism. This shows how heavily the Polish influence weighs on Ukrainian even now, after the massive attempts of generations at its de-Polonization. As a result of almost six hundred years of dependence on Polish, from 1349 to 1939, standard Ukrainian is still lexically closer to Polish than to Russian in spite of the Russianization over the past three centuries. My statistical sample studies of Ukrainian, Polish and Russian scholarly texts show that Ukrainian shares 54.8 percent of its words with Polish and 51.3 percent with Russian. Thus, the tilt towards Polish is more than three percent.

We can carry out another check on how much contemporary Ukrainian has freed itself from seventeenth-century Polonisms. I have reversed almost the entire 1627 Slavonic-Ukrainian dictionary compiled by Berynda into Ukrainian-Slavonic.¹⁰ This enables me to do some research into the Ukrainian vocabulary of that time. If we take a sample of twenty entries of my reverse dictionary found between *babskij* (womanish) and *barta* (axe), we can see that eighteen of them have accurate Polish equivalents, being either words shared in common by Ukrainian and Polish, or Polonisms. It is obvious that, in compiling his dictionary, Berynda always bore the Polish language in mind. The rate of Polonisms among his Ukrainian words is very high: as many as 45 percent. By now most of them have vanished from the Ukrainian language. This leaves us with only 20 percent Polonisms, which is still a significant number, but no longer a deluge.

Vitalij Rusanivsky cited lower rates of Polonisms in his paper at the Seventh Congress of Slavists in Warsaw: from 13 to 16 percent in the late sixteenth century, and 5 percent in the early eighteenth century.¹¹ Even if he underestimated the number of Polonisms (as I suspect), he showed correctly the consequence of the emancipation of Ukrainian from Polish after the establishment of an autonomous Ukrainian state by Bohdan Khmelnytsky in 1648. As for differences in statistics between us, it has to be noted that the texts on which he based his work show statistical propor-

¹⁰ This was not an unnecessary undertaking, although *Synonima slavenorosskaja* of the mid or late seventeenth century is considered to be a reverse Berynda dictionary (cf. *Leksyś Lavrentija Zyzanija. Synonima slavenorosskaja*, ed. by V. V. Nimchuk [Kiev, 1964], pp. 94, 96), because my reverse dictionary shows more dissimilarity than similarity between Berynda and *Synonima*; for example, only seven words of my sample of twenty have equivalents in *Synonima*.

¹¹ V. M. Rusanivsky, *Slov"janskij mizhmovni zv"jazky i formuvanja funkcional'nykh styliv ukrajins'koji literaturnoji movy XVI-XVII st.* (Kiev, 1973), pp. 13-19.

tions better than dictionaries where rare and frequent words are treated in the same way as common words.

The de-Polonization of the Ukrainian language after 1648 also expunged many native Ukrainian words which were used in Polish as Ukrainianisms. This is true, for example, of *balamutnja* (nonsense, lie) from the above-mentioned sample of Berynda's dictionary. There are more examples: *kljacha* (mare); *tulovo* (trunk); *hrechushka* (pancake of buckwheat flour); *rozhovir* (talk); *khlystyk* (poor wretch). Some of these words were primarily western-Ukrainian, so they fell victim not so much to de-Polonization, as to the shift of the center of Modern Ukrainian to the east.

The removal of Polonisms would have been still more dramatic if the center of new Ukrainian had remained on the eastern bank of the Dnieper. But it soon shifted, in the 1840s, to the western bank, and later, in the 1860s, to heavily Polonized Galicia. As a consequence, many eastern-Ukrainian words used by eastern-Ukrainian writers in the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries have finally been superseded by Polonisms: *kachka* instead of *vutka* (duck); *kachur* instead of *selezen'* (drake); *varto* instead of *stojit'* (is worth); *buduvaty* instead of *strojity* (to build); *vypadok* instead of *sluchaj* (case, accident). In some other cases western-Ukrainian Polonisms have become more frequent than eastern-Ukrainian native words: *trymaty* vs. *derzhaty* (to hold); *chekaty* vs. *zhdaty* (to wait); *djakuju* vs. *spasybi* (thanks).

In phonetic and morphological parallelisms of native forms and Polonisms, the Polish form has mostly become standard: *zavzhdy* instead of the native *zavsydy* (always); *tlumachyty* instead of *tovmachyty* (to interpret); *kovadlo* instead of *kovalo* (anvil); *tsnota* instead of *chesnota* (virtue); *sarna* instead of *serna* (roe deer); *jednist'* instead of *odnist'* (unity); *prynajmni* instead of *prynajmenshe* (at least).

But it would be wrong to think that this partial re-Polonization of Ukrainian after the 1860s occurred only because of Galician influence. It was due to "western Ukrainians" in a broad sense, from Kiev to Lviv; Ukrainians from Kiev were often more eager for this re-Polonisation than those from Lviv. Their greatest preoccupation was to avoid using Russian, for which purpose they saw appropriate means in Polonisms. In Lviv, on the other hand, it was the Polish language that was most feared and avoided, much more than Russian.¹² It is worth mentioning here, as an example, the Galician writer Osyp Makovej, who, in 1892, criti-

¹² Lehr-Spławinski, *Wzajemne wpływy*, pp. 140-41.

cized the Kievans Lesia Ukrainka and Mykhailo Starytsky for using the word *zavzhdy* because "it resembles Polish too much."¹³

When an Old-Bulgarian borrowing *obishchaty* (to promise) met with the new Polish equivalent *obitsjaty* (after the purely Ukrainian *obichaty* was lost in the Middle-Ukrainian period), it was the Polish version that became the standard. In another kind of parallelism—of an old Turcism *kermuvaty* (to direct) and Polonism *keruvaty* (with a German background) which by a pure chance are phonetically very close—it is again the Polish word that has prevailed. Thus the Polish language was still an *arbiter elegantiarum* for the Ukrainian intelligentsia, particularly in Kiev, even in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries when this standardization was taking place.

Drawn into the Polish mainstream, the Ukrainian language thus had to participate in using the Polish Germanisms and Latinisms which often replaced the old Hellenisms. For instance, the Hellenisms *svekla* (beet), *styk* (verse), and *kharatija* (parchment) were replaced by Polish Latinisms *burjak*, *virsh*, and *pergament*. The Hellenisms *plyta* (brick) and *typohrafija* (printing office) gave way to Polish Germanisms *tsehla* and *drukarnja*. Thus a good part of the Byzantine heritage of Kievan Ruthenia and of the sixteenth and seventeenth-century Orthodox revival was lost, with Muscovy retaining the lion's share of that heritage. Some Old-Ukrainian words have changed their meaning under the Polish influence, e.g., *rik* (period) came to signify "year"; *rich* (speech) now mostly means "thing"; and *prykryj* (steep, sharp) is now basically understood to mean "unpleasant."

As mentioned before, the White-Ruthenian language was even more receptive to Polonisms. It is easy to compile long comparative lists of White-Ruthenian Polonisms for which the Ukrainian language has purely Ukrainian equivalents or such old loanwords that they can be considered purely Ukrainian words. Here are a few examples: Polish *wioska*, White-Ruthenian *vjoska*, but Ukrainian *selo* (village); Polish *srodek*, White-Ruthenian *środak*, but Ukrainian *zasib* or *serednyk* (means); Polish *lustro*, White-Ruthenian *ljustra*, but Ukrainian *dzerkalo* (mirror); Polish *łyżka*, White-Ruthenian *lyzhka*, but Ukrainian *lozhka* (spoon); Polish *stup* and White-Ruthenian *slup*, but Ukrainian *stovp* (pillar).

Because Ukrainian and White-Ruthenian are otherwise very closely related languages, the rate of Bulgarianisms, as mentioned

¹³ Lesia Ukrainka, *Dokumenty i materialy, 1871-1970* (Kiev, 1971), p. 93.

above, and of Polonisms is often the chief distinguishing feature of their vocabularies. Therefore, almost the only thing a White-Ruthenian translator has to do with a Ukrainian text is to replace its native elements with Polonisms (and sometimes to remove its Bulgarianisms), while leaving the rest as it is. For example, a stanza from Pavlo Tychyna underwent this metamorphosis in White-Ruthenian:

Ta nekhaj sobi jak znajut'
bozheolijut', konajut',—
 nam svoje robyt'.

In a White-Ruthenian translation it reads:

Dyk nekhaj sabe jak znajuts',
var''jatsejuts' dy kanajuts',—
 nam svaje rabits'.¹⁴

The only important difference here is the Polonism *var''jatsets'* (to go mad) instead of the native Ukrainian *bozhevolity*. The opposite case, of the Ukrainian language being more Polonized than the White-Ruthenian, is rare: e.g., Polish *rok* and Ukrainian *rik*, but White-Ruthenian *hod* (year); Polish *doświadczenie* and Ukrainian *dosvid*, but White-Ruthenian *vopyt* (experience from the Russian).

Polish words were not only borrowed, but also actively and often resourcefully modified by affixation in the Ukrainian language. Some of these words were coined in the period of the Ukrainian-White-Ruthenian linguo-cultural community which existed until the middle of the seventeenth century: for example, Ukrainian *prydbaty* and White-Ruthenian *prydbats'* (to acquire) from Polish *dbać* (to care)¹⁵; *sproba* (attempt) in both languages from Polish *spróbować* (to attempt); Ukrainian *pozyka* and White-Ruthenian *pazyka* (loan) from Polish *pożyczać* (to lend, to borrow).

Both languages also jointly carried out unique phonetic adaptations in their Polonisms. For example, Polish *ciekawý* (interesting) became *tsikavyj* and *tsikavy* respectively; Polish *szlak* (road) turned into *shljakh* in both languages; Polish *błękitny* (blue) received the same denazalization in Ukrainian and White-Ruthenian —*blakytynyj* and *blakitny*; Polish *pożyczyć* (to lend) underwent

¹⁴ Martynava, *Mastatski peraklad*, p. 36, cf. p. 84.

¹⁵ Provincial Polish *przydбаć* is a Ruthenianism, first recorded in J. Iżycki, in the eighteenth century, from Podlachia.

the same dissimilation in Ukrainian (*pozychyty*) and White-Ruthenian (*pazychyts'*).

The last large wave of foreign linguistic influences can be dated from 1654, the date of Khmelnytsky's treaty with Muscovy. But since in the first period after the union treaty the Ukrainian culture prevailed over Russian, the actual Russian linguistic influence seems to have started only under Peter I, especially after the defeat of Hetman Ivan Mazepa at Poltava in 1709. In 1720 the formal (imperial) suppression of the Ukrainian language began. It was first applied to the language of the church. The official documents of Hetman Danylo Apostol, who was in power from 1727 to 1734, were still in Ukrainian, although with many Russianisms, such as *pryjom* (reception), and *ukaz* (edict), which are still used today; *tovaryshch* instead of the Ukrainian *tovarysh* (associate); *den'hy* (money); *poluchyty* (to receive). After Apostol, Ukrainian was still used in some private documents (e.g., in a pledge by the peasant Iakushenko in 1748, with such a Russianism, used still today, as *srok* (term, now *strok*). But the official acts by the last Hetman, Kyrylo Rozumovsky, who ruled from 1750 to 1764, were issued in the Imperial Slavonic koiné known as *rossijskij jazyk* in which Russian models prevailed. (However, the language used in documents in the 1760s was still often mixed with Ukrainian elements, e.g., the statute of the Kievan barbers' guild of 1767.)

In 1764 the Kievan Academy began to be Russified. Before that time instruction at the Academy was given in Latin, while Polish and the Ukrainian recension of Old Bulgarian were the subjects of study. However, the Ukrainian literary language was also often used in the Academy's belles lettres, and the Ukrainian vernacular was spoken by the students. In 1764 Ukrainian was officially forbidden. At first Russian was introduced only as a subject of study. The Russification of the Kievan Academy was completed by 1825, when Russian replaced Latin as the language of instruction. Thus, foundations were laid in the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries for the Russification of the upper and middle-urban strata, resulting in the almost complete disappearance of Ukrainian usage from larger cities, a situation well known to many visitors to Kiev even much later. For example, the Polish literary historian, Wilhelm Feldman, wrote in 1905: "How can one let oneself be swallowed up so "mit Haut und Haaren" [with skin and hair]! The city [of Kiev] is completely Muscovized . . . You will never hear Ruthenian in the street; only sometimes a sheepskin-clad peasant on a primitive sledge with his wife in a white sheepskin coat reminds me of my [Galician-Ukrainian] 'countrymen' from the Zbarazh area. A white-collar worker speak-

ing Ruthenian arouses sensation.”¹⁶ If Feldman could visit Kiev today he would not have to change a lot in his characterization of the linguistic situation there, except for signs on shops which are now mostly in Ukrainian.

It is not the aim of this article to provide a complete story of the Russian influence on the Ukrainian language. Besides, how could one do in one article what has not been done in so many Soviet works on this subject? For example, a huge monograph on this subject by Halyna Jizhakevych, published in Kiev in 1969, is disappointing, among other things, because she too hastily classified proto-Slavic, Old Ruthenian, Old Bulgarian, and Polish words in Ukrainian as Russian, thus displaying a familiar Russo-centric or Russo-maniacal point of view.¹⁷

I can only say that the Ukrainian language before the revolution borrowed a number of Russian words which generally betray their origin by such formatives as *-shchyk*, *-ovka* and *-nychaty* (e.g., *zbirshchyk* [money collector] used by Panteleimon Kulish in 1861, still used by exiles in the West, but replaced by purely Ukrainian *zbyrach* in the Ukrainian SSR; *zabastovka* [strike] in Mykhailo Kotsiubynsky; *jabednychaty* [to slander] in Panas Myrny). Another sign of Russian influence is the violation of the Ukrainian law of the special treatment of the vowel *o* in a closed syllable, e.g., *zabastovka* would be *zabastivka* if it were Ukrainian. Also a Russian feature is a soft consonant where it should be hard by Ukrainian phonetic rules, e.g., *pidnimaty* (to raise) in Shevchenko; in Ukrainian we would expect *pidnymaty*.

The Russian borrowings were typical in such spheres of vocabulary as terms for reprisals—*katorha* (forced labor), police control—*donos* (denunciation), compulsory military service—*saldat* (Russian soldier), bureaucracy—*chynovnyk* (Russian official), fiscal apparatus—*kazennyj* (belonging to the Russian state treasury or the Russian state in general).

But the main bulk of Russianisms has come into Ukrainian since 1917, when masses of people who had earlier spoken, written, and thought in Russian began to switch to Ukrainian or what they thought to be Ukrainian. Thinking in Russian and writing in Ukrainian has become a typical phenomenon. Under such conditions the “Ukrainization” has very often actually been a Russification, because many words created in the process are only

¹⁶ W. Feldman, *O Rosji: Wrażenia z wycieczki* (Cracow, 1905), p. 41.

¹⁷ H. P. Jizhakevych, *Ukrajins'ko-rosijs'ki zv'jazky radjans'koho chasu* (Kiev, 1969).

lexically Ukrainian while remaining structurally Russian. Even the most inept Russian innovations have been ensured admittance into Ukrainian by a slavish translation. This occurs with many abbreviations or compound words of a non-Slavic type, such as *trudospobnyj* (capable of working), modelled after the German *arbeitsfaehig* and rendered in Ukrainian from Russian as *pratse-zdatnyj*. Another clumsy Russian innovation, the half-Greek and half-Old Bulgarian *televidenie* (television) has been literally translated, of course, as *telebachennja*. So literal is the imitation of Russian structures that even the abbreviation *gorsovet* (city council) has been translated into Ukrainian as *mis'krada* although it "economizes" only one vowel and not six sounds, as in Russian. The full Russian and Ukrainian forms are *gorodskoj sovet* and *mis'ka rada*. One further example will illustrate another aspect of that process—a completely thoughtless translation. The Russian word *plata* means "payment", but if you add *zarabotnaja* it means "wage" or "salary." Thus a Russian abbreviation, *zarplata*, has been formed. In Ukrainian *platnja* means exactly what "wage" or "salary" does in English. But in spite of this, the prefix *zar-* was added, only to imitate the Russian model. Those who replace *zarplatnja* with the completely Russian *zarplata* are at least more logical and consistent.

The Russian influence has intensified since 1933, when a campaign was launched against "nationalist language wreckers." The ensuing changes in language mainly concerned technical terms too young to resist pressure in contrast to the basic vocabulary. *Dvirets'* (railway station) was replaced by the Russian *vokzal*; *vyribnja* or *vyrobnja* (factory) by the Russian *zavod*; *kora-bel'nja* (shipyard) by the Russian *verf*; *vahoviz* (truck) by the Russian *hruzovyk*; *znymok* (photograph) by the Russian *znimok*; *nabij* or *harmaten'* (cartridge) by the Russian *snarjad*. Many Russian terms were not even phonetically and morphologically adjusted to Ukrainian, e.g., the quoted *verf* is used in the feminine in defiance of Ukrainian grammar, which otherwise does not have any feminine nouns ending in *-f*; *snarjad* would require a *zn-* initial cluster in Ukrainian, as in *znarjaddja* (tools); *znimok* defies the Ukrainian rule of hard consonants before some of the former front vowels, and so on. Thus such borrowings bear the marks of a language mixture, or corruption, rather than an assimilation of foreign words, which is a normal process in any language. If this mixture goes too far, it is even officially condemned in Soviet Ukraine as *surzhyk*, literally "a mixture of wheat and rye." We might also call it "pidgin Ukrainian."

Some old-Ukrainian words have changed their meaning under the influence of Russian homonyms; e.g., *olovo* used to

mean "lead," but now it means "tin" as in Russian; *zhyd* was a neutral name for a Jew, but now it is pejorative, as in Russian.¹⁸

But a reverse, if weaker, process has also occurred: the avoidance of Russian by abandoning proto-Slavic, Old-Ruthenian and Old-Bulgarian words common with Russian. Before the revolution, many of them would appear in various books because no mandatory literary standard existed. Now, as part of a standardization effort in Soviet Ukraine, they have been dropped or have become less frequent. For example, the Germanism *borh* (loan) is used instead of the proto-Slavic *dovh*; the Turcism *cherha* (queue) instead of the Old-Ruthenian *ochered*; a Balticism *shlunok* (stomach) instead of the proto-Slavic *zholudok*; a Polonism *zbroja* (weapon) instead of the proto-Slavic *oruzhzhja*; a Gallicism *hotel* instead of the Old-Bulgarian *hostynnytsja*. Even some earlier Russianisms were dropped and replaced with Polonisms, but this happened during the independence period of 1917-1920 and was later approved as an accomplished fact by Soviet usage; e.g., *pravytel'stvo* (government) was replaced by *urjad*; *slovar* (dictionary) by *slovnyk*¹⁹; *pidcherknuty* (to underline, emphasize) by *pidkreslyty*.

An Ukrainian-American Slavist, Bohdan Romanenchuk, made the following sober comment on this linguistic self-sterilization in 1972:

It has been accepted among us as a habit to repudiate our own native words if they are used in the Russian language, or to consider them as Russianisms inadmissible for usage in Ukrainian if they appeared and were used only in Galicia, apparently under the Musophile influence.

Thus the Russian language has become for us a criterion for using a certain word or not, and if a word, expression, or form is also used in the Russian language or "smells" of Russianism we run away from it like the devil from holy incense, excusing ourselves with various theories which do nothing but impoverish our language.²⁰

¹⁸ Cf. Jevhen Chykalenko's observation in his diary, under 1909: "Simple, uneducated Jews talk with me, as with everybody else, in good Ukrainian vernacular, and they call themselves *zhydy*. The more or less 'enlightened' ones obstinately speak Russian, and call themselves *evrei*." (Quoted after I. Lysiak-Rudnytsky in *Ukraine in the Seventies*, ed. by P. J. Potichnyj [Oakville, Ont., 1975], p. 190).

¹⁹ When B. Hrinchenko's *Slovar' ukrajins'koji movy* (Kiev, 1907-09) was republished in Kiev in 1928, the generic word in its title was changed into *Slovnyk*.

²⁰ *Ameryka* (Philadelphia), September 12, 1972.

This echoes a much earlier view expressed in 1892 by Ahat-anhel Krymsky, a linguist and writer: "I don't like 'purists' and language purifiers very much, not so much because they want to throw away quasi-Polonisms as because they hate any word that sounds Russian They are trying to destroy quasi-Russian words used by the people and, instead, to impose new ones on them, either Polish or coined ones."²¹

As a result of post-revolutionary standardization, present standard Soviet Ukrainian is, paradoxically, more Polonized than the Ukrainian of many nineteenth-century writers, particularly those from eastern Ukraine (such as Panteleimon Kulish). To see this, we can compare some excerpts from Kulish's *History of Ukraine*, published in 1861, with the way they would be worded in contemporary Soviet Ukrainian. In my comparison I will emphasize the newly introduced Polonisms or words shared in common with the Polish language. Kulish said:

In English: Common villagers and townspeople had to feed and supply with clothing all that force, and suffer the arbitrariness of the armed, migrant, and hungry lot.

In the Ukrainian original: Vsju tu sylu treba bulo prostym seljanam i horodjanam prokharchyty, odezheju obmyslyty i svojevolju jikh, jako ljudu oruzhnoho, perekhozhoho i holodnoho, vyterpity.

In Soviet Ukrainian: Vsju tsju sylu treba bulo seljanam i prostym mishchanam prokharchuvaty, zabezpechyty odjahom i terpity jikh *svavolju*, jak *ozbrojenykh*, *mandrivnykh* i *holodnykh* ljudej.

The consequences of the old Polonization are also felt in an indirect way, because many new words formed after a Russian pattern include Polish roots, e.g., *nedolik* (shortcoming) is structurally a copy of the Russian *nedochet*, but its lexical building material is Polish, from *lichyty* (to count) which is a Polonism. Thus the two mightiest foreign influences on the Ukrainian language have met. To put it another way, Russian has structurally absorbed the earlier Polish lexical influence.

Some Ukrainian homonyms of Russian words have been dropped in Soviet Ukraine to avoid a semantical conflict with Russian, e.g., *naprasnyj* (sudden) was abandoned because it might be associated with the Russian homonym which means "futile," and it was, ironically, replaced with a word overlapping with Polish—*nahlyj*.

²¹ A. J. Krymsky, *Tvory v p"jaty tomakh* (Kiev, 1973), 5: 45, 81.

But apart from its ruinous effects, the Russian influence also has some redeeming aspects from a purist's point of view: it partly annuls the results of six centuries of Polonization. Following the recent Russian stimuli, many Old-Ruthenian and Old-Bulgarian words have returned to the Ukrainian literary language, sometimes offering alternatives to Polonisms or western Europeanisms (e.g., *torzhestvo* [triumph] as an alternative to *triumf*; *derzaty* [to be bold] as an alternative to *buty vidvazhnym*). Thus a bridge is being built to the paradise lost of Kievan Ruthenia.

The typical Old-Ruthenian ergative construction, i.e., the agent in dative, seems to be reviving due to Russian incentives. So more and more often one reads and hears such constructions as: *meni azh na khutir ity* ("I have to go as far as the farm," a quotation from Ivan Mykytenko), replacing the non-ergative *ja mushu azh na khutir ity* which, as the Polonism *mushu* indicates, is a Polish construction in Ukrainian. Another case of return to an Old-Ruthenian tradition due to Russian influence is the official imposition of *-ych* or *-ovych* patronymics, particularly in western Ukraine, where they were long forgotten. This reminds one of the times when Ruthenian princes or kings bore such names as Danylo Romanovych, Lev Danylovych, Jurij L'vovych, and so on.

The effort to make Ukrainian spelling more like Russian after 1933 can also be seen as a return to the Old-Ruthenian traditions in the treatment of Greek borrowings. It is enough to compare the spelling in some Old and Middle-Ukrainian works with the Polish-oriented orthography of 1929 and the reformed orthography after 1933 to see this. What was *rytor* (rhetor) in Old and Middle Ukrainian became *retor* or *rytor* in 1929, but was restored to *rytor* only after 1933; the Old and Middle-Ukrainian *Aravija* (Arabia) is *Aravija* again, and not *Arabija*.

On the whole, the Russian influence is more superficial than Polish. You can easily write a page of scholarly or journalistic prose in Ukrainian without using a single Russianism, but hardly without a Polonism. Should we assess the three main Slavic influences on Ukrainian in general, we might rate the Old-Bulgarian best and the Polish worst. It is true that Old Bulgarian hindered the development of popular Ukrainian, but it was never a language of foreign occupiers, and its use by Ukrainians was voluntary. From the very beginning it tended to form an organic blend with Ruthenian-Ukrainian. If Old Bulgarian was later somewhat overused, it was not through the fault of Old Bulgarian, but because of the abnormal political status of Ukraine: it was an Ukrainian effort—foolish, perhaps—to resist Catholicism. But little good can be said about the Polish influence. Whatever useful Western vocabulary came through this medium could have been received

directly, even if a little later. The most serious charge that might be levelled against the Polish influence is that it has, in a manner of speaking, uprooted, derailed, and disinherited the Ukrainian language, cutting its umbilical cord with its own Old-Ruthenian past. If we can give some credit to the Russian influence, no matter how ruinous it is, it is only because it partly undoes the Polish contamination of Ukrainian. It is a counterbalance of sorts, useful if used moderately.

УКРАЇНСЬКА МОВА, ЧИ МОВА УКРАЇНСЬКОЇ ЕМІГРАЦІЇ?

Питання українського правопису і мовної норми найчастіше трактуються на еміграції на сторінках непрофесійних видань. Газети та журнали загально-публіцистичного характеру, здається, тим більше друкують статті на тему “Як писати?”, чим менше залишається активних мовців. Психологічно це явище цілком зрозуміле. Але воно дає привід для деяких серйозних зауваг.

Для автора цих рядків, який ще зовсім недавно відірвався від мовного середовища сучасної України, ситуація, коли мовні питання намагаються вирішувати шляхом “всенародного референдуму”, перестає здаватися гумористичною відтоді, відколи все більше й більше почали окреслюватись трагічні аспекти її. Найбільш трагічним є те, що некваліфіковані суперечки не сприяють серйозному ставленню української молоді на еміграції до літературної норми української мови і викликають у них сумніви, *чи така норма взагалі існує*. Те, що аматорські повчання на таку важливу тему взагалі можливі, має свою першопричину. Це — глибоко вкорінений комплекс романтичного мислення і ідеалізування понять, які зовсім не надаються до ідеалізування (політика, історія, історія мови, і т. д.).

Сукупність різних негативних факторів сприяла тому, що на різних щаблях нашої суспільної свідомості глибоко гніздиться думка, що українська мова десь колись була справжньою, “чистою, незасміченою, солов’їною”, тільки після того її весь час намагаються “засмітити” відомі всім лихі сусіди. Розвиткові такої спрощеної думки завжди сприяло вульгарне накладання політичних стереотипів на інші аспекти життя нації.

Пересічний мовознавець-аматор, захоплений однобічно питанням “очищення” мови, здатний списати багато сторінок, які мають хіба-що ту вартість, що могли б бути матеріалом до російсько-українського чи польсько-українського словників. Правда те, що ніхто вже не “чистить” нашу мову від старих турецьких і татарських запозичень чи полонізмів першого періоду польсько-українських контактів, можливо, тому, що їх мало хто вже впізнає. Намагання виловити всі росіянізми і полонізми другого періоду зі сторінок нашої преси, — це, фактично, намагання полемізувати про мову з тими,

хто мови не знає: Сізіфова праця. Про такий стан речей ще каже наша приказка: “Горбатого могила виправить”.

Мое іронічне ставлення до непоправних “горбатих” не означає ворожого ставлення. Ситуація на еміграції зараз така, що й “горбаті”, і ті, хто хоче їх виправити, мають однаковісінькі права і однакової сили голос у дискусії. Все це тому, що *не існує утвердженої гідності мови*, поваги до її нормативного статусу.

Метафізичний спосіб думання і нерозуміння динаміки розвитку того живого організму, яким є людська мова, може прискорити в діаспорі процес втрати української мови (хоч я особисто не вважаю, що це було б остаточною втратою всієї української спадщини). Під нерозумінням динаміки розвитку я найперше вбачаю недовір’я еміграції до сучасної літературної мови українського народу на батьківщині. Це знову ж таки наслідок перенесення політичних концепцій у мовну сферу, що зовсім недопустимо, бо приводить до фальшивих висновків. Бо, коли у певні історичні часи можна звинувачувати в колаборантстві більшу чи меншу кількість індивідів, то концепція колаборантства ніколи в жодному випадку в усій світовій історії не годилась для окреслення процесу розвитку мови. Не годиться вона й для української мови, бо, при послідовному лінгвістичному підході, не бачимо в історії української мови чогось такого, чого б не знали інші мови.¹

І тут ми наблизились до популярного питання, чи політичні обставини життя нації “псують” мову і чи справді колинебудь в історії України вороги нашої мови мали намір її зросійщити, спольщити, змадярщити чи зрумунізувати. Треба категорично ствердити, що українофоби ніколи не хотіли бачити нашу мову ні зросійщеною, ні спольщеною: вони просто-напросто бажали її бачити мертвою, не-мовою, підміненою їхньою власною. Ця формула дозволяє мені відмежуватись від дальших позалінгвістичних екскурсів на цю тему, додавши тільки одне парадоксальне на перший погляд спостереження: якщо б чужинець поставив собі за мету “зіпсувати” таку чи якусь мову, людина починає її любити.

В умовах функціонального білінгвізму на Україні і при обставинах, коли технічний прогрес диктує свої об’єктивні закони уніфікації термінології, створити бар’єри для взаємо-

¹ Питання заборони мов, як от Емський указ 1876 року, для лінгвістичного дослідження не підходить. Це антиприродна спроба шляхом ампутації перетворити мову в не-мову, а не-мовними експериментами повинна займатись, отже, не-лінгвістика: це вже історія політики, а не історія мови.

дії мов взагалі неможливо. Чому існує білінгвізм — це питання позалінгвістичного порядку: *мова сама не вибирає собі функціонального середовища*, але, опинившись у ньому, поводиться так, як і всі мови світу в подібних умовах.

Згадавши про мови світу, хочеться пригадати цікаву подію, яка кілька років тому дискутувалася на сторінках французької преси. За рекомендацією Академії Наук уряд Франції затвердив закон, згідно з яким на всі фірми, компанії і інші юридичні одиниці, які в листуванні і публікаціях надмірно вживатимуть англійську термінологію, буде накладатися штраф. Це трапилося в країні, яка не є двомовною. І цей закон не вплине все-одно на ту англійську термінологію, яку *вже неможливо* усунути з французької мови.

Одночасно цей закон свідчить про те, що певний контроль над стихією розвитку мови повинен бути, хоч би для того, щоб попереднє покоління розуміло наступне. Не секрет, що від уряду УРСР годі було б чекати подібних постанов. І цю функцію перебрали на себе самі носії літературної мови — вчені-філологи, майстри пера, педагоги, актори, просто шанувальники слова. Процес гальмування мовної лавини відбувається свідомо або й підсвідомо, точніше — в міру свідомості кожного. І він відбуватиметься й надалі.

Але ніхто, ні вдома, ні в діаспорі, не повинен ставити за мету цілком зупинити мовний потік у якійсь “ідеальній” точці. Ідеальної точки ніколи не було, завжди був рух.

Чи мова еміграції має відгук на Україні? Безумовно, так. При тому реакція буває як позитивна, так і негативна. Позитивний сам факт, що еміграція мову намагається утримати. Допмагають підтримати статус гідності мови висилання радіостанцій зарубіжних країн українською мовою, особливо серед двомовного чи російськомовного населення. Трапляється, що ці радіовисилання принесуть вряди-годи влучний новий термін (пригадується “довкілля”, тобто, “природне середовище”— неологізм редакції “Голосу Америки”; також сам термін “радіовисилання”).

Негативно ж, звичайно, сприймаються відхилення від фонетичної, лексичної чи синтаксичної норми, тобто, звичайні помилки. Особливо негативно вражає такий огріх, як навмисна чи несвідомо архаїзація мови, наприклад, варіанти “кляса”, “плян”, “фльота” замість більш натуральних для української звукової гармонії “клас”, “план”, “флот”.² В результаті остаточної фонетичної деполонізації нашої мови поль-

² Бажаючи радимо глибше познайомитися з явищем паронімії.

ське фонетичне оформлення запозичених слів типу “кляса”, “клюб”, залишилось поза межами літературної норми, що цілком закономірно, бо польська мова належить до іншого, західного ареалу слов'янських мов. Це віддзеркалено і в сучасному українському правописі. Бурхливий розквіт літературної творчості 60-их років остаточно узаконив цей правопис, здобув для нього той самий статус гідності (і навіть мучеництва) і зробив іррелевантними всякі дискусії про переваги існуючих *давніше* систем нашого “спелінгу”. Звичайно, як і в усіх мовах, питання *майбутньої* реформи правопису залишається завжди відкритим: реформа *можлива*, але не нагальна. (Проблема окремого графічного знака для позначення звука “г” найбільш суперечлива, але не така трагічна, як дехто схильний вважати: фонетична транскрипція і “спелінг” не обов'язково мусять співпадати. Це бачимо саме в англійській мові.)

У світлі вищесказаного нереальними виглядають пропозиції, щоб котрась із українських наукових твердинь на Заході (УНІГУ, КІУС чи УВАН) приступила до опрацювання найновіших правописних норм української мови. Плануючи наше культурне життя на майбутнє, ми повинні категорично запитати себе, що ми бажаємо культивувати: *українську мову*, чи *мову української еміграції*. Останнє означало б копання ще однієї прірви між нами і батьківщиною і, в кінці кінців, зникнення цього своєрідного еміграційного діалекту. Бо стати іншим Квебеком ми не встигнемо: немає території (Альберту, здається, завоювати не вдасться). Романтики ж, які мріють ще колись навчати і переучувати суверенну Україну, повинні охолонути: *з-за кордону можна всього навчитися, крім мови*.³

Висновки

Для стабілізації мовної ситуації в українській діаспорі і для збереження української мови як активної другої мови молоді українського роду, нашій мові необхідно повернути захитаний статус гідності (*dignitas*).

Для всіх еміграційних суспільств усього світу і всіх часів найвищим еталоном була і є мова батьківщини, унормована існуючим на конкретний час найвищим інтелектуаль-

³ Особисто я переконаний, що найбільш екзальтованим “вчителем” усякого роду Україна не видасть віз.

ним авторитетом на батьківщині (релігійним або світським).⁴ Аномалія української еміграції спричинена політизацією українського культурного життя на Заході (вдома теж, але це питання іншого виміру).

Невизнання авторитету літературної мови батьківщини — це свідоме відмовлення від найкращого, що ми все ще і, невважаючи ні на що, маємо. А кожна нація має рівно стільки, скільки заслуговує: такий невмолимий закон виживання.

Для утвердження гідності нашої мови українським мовознавцям і літераторам можна рекомендувати популяризацію єдино правильного, тобто, наукового розуміння мови як організму в стані постійної еволюції (діалектика синхронного і діяхронного рівнів, що є азбукою лінгвістики). Шляхи еволюції в кожній мові різні і залежать від політичної і життєвої мудрості її носіїв.

Сучасна українська літературна мова, якою б вона не здавалася окремим членам нації, — це наша мова, і вона залишатиметься українською, попри всі можливі дальші зміни, аж доти, доки нестиме назву “українська” і доки з цією назвою погоджуватиметься інтелектуальна еліта на батьківщині. Питання ж дочасності чи вічності мови від самої мови не залежить: тут починають діяти інші, державотворчі чинники, в інтерпретуванні яких автор цієї статті визнає себе лише аматором.

⁴ Російська еміграція боляче сприйняла реформу свого правопису в 1918 році. Мова отримала новий графічний візерунок, що згодом вплинуло також на вимову. Центр мови перемістився з петербурзького діалекту на московський.

ICARUS AND PROMETHEUS: THE COMING OF AGE OF UKRAINIAN STUDIES

In his eloquent keynote address at the Ukrainian Historical Conference, held last May 29-31 at the University of Western Ontario, Professor George Shevelov invoked the myths of Icarus and Prometheus as together exemplifying the dialectic between tragic failures and heroic aspirations in Ukrainian history. In the same address, entitled "Reflections of a Linguist on Ukrainian History," Professor Shevelov likewise brought to bear his professional training as a linguist on the problems posed by the nature of historical study in general, and invited his listeners to ponder the contrast between an eternal perspective that rises above the flux of human events and an immersion in the transitory concerns of everyday life. Thus, in Professor Shevelov's hands, the entire conference took on the aura of a timeless occurrence and seems, in retrospect, to be charged with symbolic meaning.

But this chord in Professor Shevelov's address resounds so deeply precisely because it is a keynote, because it so fittingly captures the mood of the conference as a whole. From the opening remarks delivered by Professor Ivan L. Rudnytsky, my father, to the closing round-table discussion, the conference was informed by a spirit of self-scrutiny, and one left with the feeling that a step forward had been taken in Ukrainian national consciousness. Undoubtedly one of the most important facts about the conference is that it was conducted entirely in English, aptly described by Professor Rudnytsky as the *lingua franca* of North America. Thus, if the conference marked an advance in Ukrainian national consciousness, it did so not in the espousal of any parochial nationalism, but in the maturity of its acceptance of contemporary political reality. A welcome dividend of the decision, likewise stressed by the speaker in his opening remarks, that this gathering was to be a Ukrainian Historical Conference, and *not* a Conference of Ukrainian Historians, was the distinguished contribution of non-Ukrainian scholars—including Professor Patricia Herlihy of Wellesley College and Steven L. Guthrie of the University of Michigan—who have found themselves drawn to the study of Ukrainian history from purely "intellectual" rather than "ethnic" motives.

There can be no question but that the success of the conference was itself the result of a large number of political and social factors. Chief among these, perhaps, is the recent formation

of two Ukrainian centers of higher learning at major North American universities—the Harvard Ukrainian Research Institute and the Canadian Institute of Ukrainian Studies—which together with the Ukrainian Historical Association organized the conference. The formation of these Institutes is, in turn, a product of the dedication of the Ukrainian emigrant community and, in Canada, an officially sponsored government policy of multiculturalism, largely due to the presence of the French-Canadian fact. Ukrainians in Canada have been able to capitalize on the favorable conditions of the larger political climate to create for themselves an enduring structure within which the intellectual life can be nourished. The existence of these two Institutes, moreover, fosters the development of younger scholars, whose survival is vital if Ukrainian studies are to have a future. The cooperation of the Harvard and the Canadian Institutes managed to generate a momentum and a degree of sophistication that neither would have been able to achieve separately.

This conference was held within the framework of the Canadian Association of Slavists (CAS), whose annual meeting forms part of the mammoth convention of the Canadian Learned Societies, which, I learned, is held every year at a different Canadian university. The overall effect of attending the Ukrainian Historical Conference, therefore, was of forming a very small component of a very large gathering, bearing—to my American eyes—a distinct resemblance to the annual convention of the Modern Language Association. Nevertheless, one did not have the feeling that the conference was in any way marginal or insignificant, but rather that it was the focus of a considerable amount of interest. In particular, this sense of consequence was most pronounced where it was most important—in relation to the conference's immediate parent organization, the CAS. Although officially it was the CAS that sponsored the Ukrainian Historical Conference, by all accounts it was actually the Conference that preempted the limelight from its pan-Slavic progenitor, thus creating (from the Ukrainian standpoint) a pleasant sensation of the tail wagging the dog. This feeling of the relative importance of Ukrainian studies was given formal recognition by the choice of Professor Shevelov, one of the most eminent Ukrainian scholars in North America, as the guest speaker at the banquet sponsored jointly by the conference and the CAS.

But if the conference represented the consolidation of a Hegelian *Aufhebung* in Ukrainian self-consciousness, this coming of age was not without the difficulties and embarrassments which customarily attend any rite of passage. Here again, the issue of language is of paramount significance. It must be granted

that the requirement of speaking in English presented a certain amount of difficulty for some of the senior scholars. Nonetheless, there was no one who did not manage to cope with this challenge and to make himself understood in spontaneous discussion. I think that these scholars would themselves be the first to agree that their slight linguistic handicap is a small price to pay for the benefits accruing from a conference conducted entirely in the lingua franca of English.

It is not in the purely technical difficulties of individual scholars that the true significance of the issue of language resides. After all, one would expect that the use of a foreign language should present an impediment to even experienced non-native speakers. (Those whose first language is English should, of course, be more aware of this than anyone.) Rather, it is in the *psychological* barrier imposed by the requirement that no Ukrainian be spoken that the real interest of the problem of language is concealed. It cannot be denied that the exclusion of Ukrainian from a conference on Ukrainian history represents a compromise, an adjustment to the painful fact of life in exile. One might almost say that the transition from Ukrainian to English defines the conference as a *second-generation* experience, and marks a permanent renunciation of nostalgia for the "old country."

But psychology (as well as our own experience) teaches us that our old love-objects are only given up under strenuous protest—if indeed they are ever given up at all. Thus, it is perfectly understandable that this acceptance of life in the diaspora, painful for all Ukrainians, is especially so for those whose patriotism is of the fervent old-fashioned variety; and that this tension arising from the precarious balance between two worlds should come to a head at the conference. What can only be attributable to one of life's little ironies, however, is that this moment of crisis should have come at a singularly unfortunate juncture. Of all the panel topics, there can be no doubt that the session on "Ukraine and the Russian Revolution," chaired by Professor Bohdan Krawchenko of the University of Alberta and scheduled for the final morning of the conference, held the widest appeal for non-specialists in Ukrainian history; and it was indeed well attended by members of the CAS. And yet, through no fault of the chairman, it was precisely at this session that the conference displayed its growing pains most openly.

Ukrainians have never been noted for their punctuality, and it must be lodged as a complaint that many speakers tried their listeners' patience by considerably overstepping the time allotted for their papers. Once the precedent had been set in the opening session, however, that panelists were not to be kept within their

allotted time, it became very difficult for subsequent chairmen to insist on scrupulousness in this regard. The problem of length was augmented in the session "Ukraine and the Russian Revolution," by a lack of audibility on the part of one speaker, as well as the generally disappointing quality of the papers. The session was, however, somewhat redeemed by the tactful and incisive comments of Mr. Yury Boshyk of Oxford, one of the group of extremely promising younger scholars at the conference.

But the drama at this session did not reach its highest pitch until Dr. Oleh S. Pidhainy of the Symon Petliura Institute, in response to Mr. Boshyk's criticisms of his paper, began to address the conference—in Ukrainian! When Professor Krawchenko intervened to insist that Dr. Pidhainy speak in English, the latter replied with pointed irony that he had spoken in Ukrainian "subconsciously" and that he could not believe that the use of Ukrainian was "out of bounds" at the Ukrainian Historical Conference. What is most illuminating about this incident, however, is not its reflection on any individual personality, but rather the way that it is symbolic of the burden of assimilation faced by the conference as a whole. Indeed, we may do well to take Dr. Pidhainy at more than his word, and to see his use of Ukrainian as an expression not merely of personal resentment, but of the political "unconscious" of the entire conference. The adoption of English as the official language of the conference really did have the effect of defining Ukrainian as "out of bounds" or "repressed," and as a prohibition always tends to call forth a corresponding desire, so it is ultimately the policy of the conference itself which must be held accountable for this linguistic "return of the repressed."

It is a striking fact of cultural history that the most penetrating insight into a custom or social institution is often found in those who oppose that practice most bitterly. In seventeenth-century England, for example, the Puritans who relentlessly attacked the lewdness and immorality of the stage displayed an awareness of the profound implications of some customs—for example, the use of male actors to play female parts—which far exceeded that of the theater's more conventional apologists. It is almost as though a measure of hostility were a precondition for sharp-sightedness, just as the exaggerations of a paranoiac frequently contain more than a few grains of truth about the tendentious motives of supposedly innocent behavior. By the same token, it must be granted that Dr. Pidhainy's status as, in a manner of speaking, the "scapegoat" of the conference likewise is tied to his articulation of an insight that other participants could not perceive so directly. His traditional brand of Ukrainian nationalism, precisely because it ran counter to the main movement

of the conference, was able to touch on the problem of life between two worlds at its most sensitive point. To Dr. Pidhainy's credit, moreover, it should be added that he did not allow public pressure to deter him from a forthright and vigorous defence of his position, and that he was one of those who acknowledged most explicitly the contributions of non-Ukrainian scholars—a fact which was perhaps not sufficiently recognized by Dr. Pidhainy's critics.

I do not think that those members of the CAS who attended only the session on "Ukraine and the Russian Revolution" came away with a very favorable impression of the Ukrainian Historical Conference. But though it may be regretted that the issue of language came to the fore at such an unpropitious moment, in the overall picture its emergence is actually a sign of the vitality of the conference. The serenity of maturity is only achieved through the crucible of adolescence, and a certain awkwardness must be forgiven in the exercise of newly acquired powers. Adolescence, too, is an age of extreme contrasts, of oscillations between the sublime and the ridiculous. If Professor Shevelov's keynote address represents the capacity of the conference to achieve genuine sublimity, the ridiculous found its expression in the heated debate over whether it is acceptable to say "the Ukraine" or whether simply "Ukraine" is the correct form—a disputation comparable in gravity to that between the two kingdoms of Lilliput over whether eggs are to be broken at the big or the little end in *Gulliver's Travels*. But perhaps the most notable features of coming of age are a new degree of introspection and a capacity to see oneself with a measure of self-irony, and these the conference displayed to an admirable extent. Professor Lubomyr Hajda of Harvard, for example, in his paper on "Ottoman Sources for Ukrainian History: Problems and Perspectives," regaled the conference with the Muslims' unflattering views of the Ukrainians as largely drunkards and impotent, and the response of his listeners showed the willingness of Ukrainians to enjoy a laugh at their own expense.

In the final analysis, it is the assortment of talented and committed individuals who have chosen to dedicate themselves to Ukrainian history that remains my most vivid recollection of the conference. From the opening panel on "Historiography," for example, the conference was confronted with the contrast between the styles of Professors Lubomyr R. Wynar of Kent State University and Taras Hunczak of Rutgers, the Apollonian rage for order of the former being balanced by the Dionysian energy of the latter. But as William Blake noted, "Opposition is true friendship," and this contrast in styles only sets off to greater effect the equal de-

dication of these scholars—both of whom participated in the final round-table discussion—to their common intellectual pursuit of Ukrainian history. It would be inappropriate to mention this panel on “Historiography” without also recalling the paper of Mr. Edward Kasinec, chief librarian at the Harvard Ukrainian Research Institute, whose discussion of “Ukrainian Historical Sources: Problems of Structure and Access” was animated by a meticulously organized slide presentation.

It would be possible to continue at length with a recitation of “high points” of the conference without doing justice to its many organizers and participants. One thinks of the innovative “Lithuanian thesis” of Ukrainian history propounded by Professor Omeljan Pritsak, director of the Harvard Institute and dean of Ukrainian historians, which succeeded in finding an entirely new culprit upon whom to blame the woes of Ukraine’s past. Professor Pritsak’s thesis, however, did not escape careful questioning by other members of the conference, particularly by Professor Paul Bushkovitch of Yale, the commentator on the panel dealing with “The Historical Legacy of Kievan Rus’.” It is a gratifying indication of the cooperation between youth and age at the conference that, in his banquet address, Professor Shevelov chose to single out the papers of Professor Frank E. Sysyn and Dr. Zenon E. Kohut, both from Harvard, for special praise. Professor Sysyn, in his extemporaneous comments at the round-table discussion, displayed a suppleness of mind worthy of Professor Shevelov himself in recounting his very dissimilar experiences teaching Ukrainian history to undergraduates at Harvard and to elementary-school children at St. Anthony’s Orthodox School. There is, to my mind, something powerfully symbolic in this juxtaposition, linking the top and the bottom rungs of the Ukrainian educational ladder and reminding all pedagogues of the inseparability of fundamental and advanced work in any academic endeavor.

Thus, if Professor Shevelov’s address endowed the Ukrainian Historical Conference with a symbolic meaning, that meaning is but the resonance of the dominant chord of the entire conference. The substance of Professor Shevelov’s talk amplifies that of Professor Sysyn’s personal anecdote in its awareness of the interplay between things great and small—between the timeless perspective of eternity and the ephemeral concerns of mushrooms that flourish only for a day. Such a dialectic between Promethean aspirations and Icarus-like failures informs not only Ukrainian history but the history of mankind, and it is the achievement of this conference to have initiated a long-awaited dialogue between Ukrainian and world history.

A REPORT ON UKRAINIAN LANGUAGE TEXTBOOKS AT THE UNIVERSITY LEVEL *

Introduction

This report is based on a project, the main purpose of which was to study the textbooks and other materials used to teach the Ukrainian language in Canadian universities.

A questionnaire asking the following questions was sent to instructors at nineteen Canadian universities:

1. What textbooks are being used at your university to teach the Ukrainian language at the introductory, intermediate, and advanced levels?
 2. How long have you used these textbooks and do you have any intentions of replacing them?
 3. Give a critical evaluation of the suitability of these textbooks.
 4. What additional books and materials are used as supplements to the main textbook?
 5. What materials and tapes are used in the language laboratory?
- Sixteen out of nineteen universities responded by mail or telephone.

This report consists of a summation and an appendix. The summation, an analysis of the instructors' and reviewers' comments together with my recommendations, is divided into three sections—textbooks, readers, and language laboratory materials. The appendix is an alphabetical list by author of teaching materials, the schools and courses in which they are used, and a critical summary of comments, including my own evaluations.

In addition to the reviewers' and instructors' comments, there are several references in this report to students' evaluations of textbooks.

* An earlier version of this report was prepared for the Canadian Institute of Ukrainian Studies and read at a meeting of the Associates of the Institute in London, Ontario, on May 28, 1978. The author would like to thank the following individuals for their help in preparing this report: N. Aponiuk (Manitoba), S. Cioran (McMaster), O. Krawchenko (St. Andrew's College, Manitoba), G. Mulyk-Lutzyk (St. Andrew's College, Manitoba), R. Pikulyk (York), S. Pohorilyj (Manitoba), N. Popil (Regina), T. Priestly (Alberta), O. Prokopiw (Calgary), E. Roslycky (Western Ontario), S. Rush (Ottawa), Y. Slavutych (Alberta), D. Struk (Toronto), I. Wynnickyj (Waterloo), and M. Van de Lagemaat (Carleton).

Summation

Textbooks. The textbooks used in the greatest number of Canadian universities are those by Slavutych—7, Duravetz—5, and Zhluktenko—5. It must be stated at the very beginning that none of the textbooks completely satisfy the needs of the instructors or the students, and every instructor indicated that he or she would replace the text presently used if a better one were available. The shortcomings of the textbooks are: (1) a lack of methodical presentation of grammar material; (2) a lack of or inappropriate exercises; and (3) lexically or thematically unsuitable reading material. Consequently, individual instructors often change textbooks, and almost all of them must supplement them with their own materials.

It appears that many authors of textbooks have overlooked the fact that Ukrainian is a second language for the majority of university students, that English is the everyday language and the one used in academic communication, and that they are dealing with mature students with specific interests.

In the presentation of individual lessons there is too little overlapping between what has been assimilated and new grammatical and lexical material. Grammatical rules with which students are not yet familiar sometimes appear in the exercises. The textbooks lack a systematic buildup of vocabulary. Some lessons are overburdened with vocabulary often little used in everyday communication.

Presented material is often irrelevant and not informative enough for today's student. There exists, for example, interest among students in the past and present social, cultural, and political processes among the Ukrainians in Canada and the United States. This material is not always suitably balanced with material taken from past and contemporary life in Ukraine. The main aspects and specific features of Ukrainian life in toto should be covered. Thus textbooks (and readers) should include a variety of material about the cultural, historical, social, and political attainments of the Ukrainian people and their contemporary problems.

Several commentators observed that the majority of textbooks cover too much grammatical and lexical material and, in places, in too much detail for a one-year course. This is an important observation, since there are often students in an introductory course who do not plan to continue studying the language, but desire only to acquire the basic grammar and vocabulary sufficient for using the language on an elementary level. Therefore, in my opinion, an elementary language textbook should be a rounded unit introducing approximately 700 words. The textbook for the intermediate course should be a deepening and broadening of the elementary text and include elementary syntax and extended readings from literature, culture, history, and so on. No suitable textbook for the advanced course yet exists, and those which are used by individual instructors were not

created for university needs. This textbook, in my opinion, should concentrate on more complex composition, stylistics, and features specific to the Ukrainian language.

It should be possible to cover the material in each of the above textbooks in an academic year, approximately eighty teaching hours.

Readers. From the information received, we find that three readers are used in full or in part in Canadian universities: Yuzyk-Ewach's, Kopach's, and Smyrniw's. The Yuzyk-Ewach reader, which is suitable for an elementary course, is used by one university. Kopach's reader can be used in intermediate and advanced language courses. The material is selected from contemporary Ukrainian literature written both in Ukraine and abroad. The book has neither a vocabulary nor stresses. It is more an anthology than a reader, and would therefore be more appropriate in literature courses. Smyrniw's reader was prepared for use in intermediate courses and is based on a selection of exclusively Soviet Ukrainian material, primarily from *Literaturna Ukraina* and *Perets*. This is a new reader, and experience will show the extent to which it is useful.

Like grammars, readers should encompass a wider variety of themes and genres. A vocabulary is a very important component of such a textbook, and stresses in the text are indispensable considering the mobility of stresses in Ukrainian. An even more important consideration when compiling readers and grammars should be the maintenance of the purity of a language's lexicon, orthography, and phraseology. Maksym Rylsky once wrote, "One can develop and modernize a language, but one should not pollute it." This could well have been said about the processes occurring in Soviet Ukraine today, where there exist two types of Ukrainian. One is used in official publications. The other is used in everyday communication and adheres more to what could be termed traditional normative Ukrainian.

The inclusion in both our readers and grammars of Russianized Soviet Ukrainian phraseology and orthography is, in my opinion, unnecessary, if not a pernicious compromise. In our teaching we should make every possible effort to ensure that the language we pass on to our students adheres to normative literary usage. This is not an easy task, considering the almost total lack of updated, normative Ukrainian-language dictionaries. Nevertheless, our attitude in this situation should be to strive for an intelligent purity of the language.

The question of the official linguistic policy in present-day Ukraine should be discussed in class in the advanced stages of language teaching and learning. Otherwise, we will lead the student into a hopeless labyrinth and consequent apathy.

Due to the limited number of available readers, the majority of instructors prepare and select reading material on their own.

Laboratory Materials. This aspect of language teaching is the most poorly developed. According to the information received, Slavutych's textbook is supplemented by tapes prepared by the author. Zhluktenko's textbook also includes recordings of the texts and dialogues in the book. The recordings of the phonetic portion of the textbook are acceptable, although even here the pauses during which the student is to repeat the phonemes should be lengthened. The recordings of the texts, however, should be divided into linguistic or phraseological units, particularly for students of the introductory course, to permit the student to hear and repeat a given phrase. This procedure must be implemented if the recordings are to be useful to the student.

In this present situation, instructors are forced to prepare their own tapes based on the textbook being used. These recordings often lack professional quality and, therefore, have to be continually remade. In several cases it was noted that, disappointed in their attempts, instructors stop using the language laboratory altogether. They become most discouraged because of the student's frequent glances at the clock and his yawns in the laboratory.

In my opinion, tapes do not have to follow exactly the textbook being used, particularly in intermediate and advanced courses, but should be prepared in a manner which would engage the student's interest. Then they could be used with various textbooks. In addition to all the obvious benefits of a language lab, here the student also has the opportunity to be in direct contact with the language which, understandably, is not provided by our surroundings. One could even teach students to quarrel in Ukrainian.

Recommendations

This report is a first step in identifying and solving the existing problems of teaching Ukrainian at the university level. We have before us comments of people who teach and who are taught. I hope that the authors of textbooks and readers will treat these observations objectively, and that instructors will be able to discern whether it is worthwhile changing the books presently used in their courses.

I also hope that this report will encourage some of us to prepare new textbooks and readers indispensable for introductory, intermediate, and advanced courses in the Ukrainian language, laboratory materials, and even textbooks and readers for high schools and Ukrainian private schools. To a large extent, an interest in Ukrainian-area studies depends on good textbooks.

To this end, the Canadian Institute of Ukrainian Studies can play an important role. By forming an editorial or advisory committee which would examine the existing situation and establish priorities, it could delegate to individual departments the preparation of the above-mentioned

Journal

materials or call upon individuals to do this work. This committee could send a questionnaire to individual Ukrainian language instructors to determine if anyone is already working or intends to work in any of the above areas.

Appendix

Code: (1) university and name of course; (2) comments and evaluations.

BUYNIAK, V. O. *Readings in Ukrainian Authors*, Part I—Reader; Part II—Notes and Vocabulary. Mimeographed.

1. Regina: Ukr. 200 (Intermediate Ukrainian); Ukr. 201 (Advanced Ukrainian)

2. This reader is used by Regina as a supplementary text to Stechishin's *Ukrainian Grammar* in the intermediate course and Slavutych's *Conversational Ukrainian* in the advanced course.

CHORNEY, Stepan. *Hramatyka ukrainskoi movy*, Part I—Phonology and Morphology, 1970; Part II—Syntax. Brockport, N.Y.: Dniprowa Chwyla, 1969.

1. Alberta: Ukrainian 401-402 (Advanced Ukrainian Grammar)
York: Advanced Ukrainian

2. Part I of the book is intended for grades 7-12 of *Kursy Ukrainoznavstva*. Part II does not specify the level for which it was intended, but one assumes that it was also meant for the advanced grades of *Kursy*. The approach to the grammar is traditional. The basic points of phonology and syntax are presented quite adequately and are supplemented by exercises. The morphology, however, would benefit from better explanations, especially in the classification of parts of speech and their grammatical categories. The major shortcoming of the textbook, if used in North America, is that explanations and definitions are only in Ukrainian. In general, the book is much better than *Hramatyka ukrainskoi movy* by D. Kyslytsia. Part I could be used as a reference supplement in an elementary course, and Part II in an intermediate course. The text also contains short passages from Ukrainian literature. It is appraised by Alberta as satisfactory. York uses Parts I and II in Advanced Ukrainian.

DURAVETZ, G. *Ukrainian: Conversational and Grammatical*. Level I. Toronto: Ukrainian Teachers' Committee, Ontario Modern Language Teachers Association, 1973; 2d rev. ed., 1977; Level II, 1976.

1. Waterloo: Ukrainian 101/102 (Elementary Ukrainian)
York: Elementary Ukrainian (Level I); Intermediate Ukrainian (Level II)
Saskatchewan: Advanced Ukrainian (Level II)
Carleton: Introductory Ukrainian; Advanced Ukrainian
Ottawa

2. Methodologically, the material is well organized as it combines the conversational and grammatical approaches. Dialogues skillfully introduce idiomatic expressions for use in real situations. Exercises are ample and reinforce the grammatical forms. However, originally conceived as a high school text in two parts (Level I and Level II) and for two consecutive school years, it does pose a problem at the university level. Level I, especially the shorter second edition, does not suffice for the entire academic year, while both Levels I and II are too extensive. Since it is important to give the university student in his first year an overview of grammar, the instructor is faced with the problem of either dealing selectively with Level II or supplementing Level I with his own material. The reviewer suggested that a condensed college edition of Levels I and II, with a less extensive vocabulary, would be very welcome indeed. Alberta used Level I in Ukrainian 100 for three years and experienced a number of problems, but did not specify them. The textbook was replaced by Stechishin's *Ukrainian Grammar* (1966). One reviewer finds that the vocabulary in Level I (unrevised) is often too difficult, and he has to select the vocabulary from each lesson for which the students are responsible. Since, in her opinion, the lessons from 20 on are too difficult, she used them only as a supplementary grammar reference. Even before this lesson some pages are omitted due to their difficulty. The problem with Duravetz's dialogues is that too often structures that have not been taught in a particular lesson appear in the dialogue for that lesson. Calgary tried Duravetz but reverted to Slavutych in midyear. Manitoba used Level I (unrevised) for one year and changed to *Ukrainian. A Textbook for Beginners*, by Zhluktenko (1973). Ottawa has been using Duravetz's textbooks for two years. However, in view of many shortcomings, Ottawa would welcome a new corrected and revised edition. Saskatchewan is using Level II on a trial basis as a supplementary text to Foty's *Practical Ukrainian*. Level II is richly illustrated, but frequently utilizes Soviet terminology and expressions, and the grammar material requires better arrangement and presentation.

EWACH, H., and YUZYK P. *Ukrainian Reader*. Winnipeg: Ukrainian Canadian Committee, 1960.

1. Regina: Ukrainian 100 (Elementary I); Ukrainian 101 (Elementary II)

2. Regina employs the book as a supplement to Stechishin's *Ukrainian Grammar*. The book includes short stories, poetry, and anecdotes. Each is followed by questions relating to the text, and there is a vocabulary at the end of the reader. Each of the 97 lessons has English explanations of the theme of the story or poem, and short biographies of the writers. A significant number of materials have Canadian content. The book is suitable for elementary Ukrainian, but a number of stresses should be corrected.

Journal

FOTY, Yury. *Practical Ukrainian*. Mimeographed. Saskatoon: University of Saskatchewan Printing Services.

1. Saskatchewan: Advanced Ukrainian
2. Has been used for the last ten years and is termed satisfactory, but needs some revision, which will be done in the near future.

FOTY, Yury. *Readings in Ukrainian Literature*. Mimeographed. Saskatoon: Department of Slavic Studies, University of Saskatchewan.

1. Carleton: Ukrainian 36.216
2. Used together with Duravetz's *Level II*.

FRANKO, Roma. *Ukrainian by the Audio-Visual Method*. Part Two, Section One, Didier.

1. Saskatchewan: Intermediate Ukrainian
2. It has been used for six years together with Slavutych's (Audio-Visual) Didier, Part One. It is termed suitable for both Introductory and Intermediate Ukrainian. The Department has no intention of replacing the text.

Both Franko's and Slavutych's *Audio-Visual* (Didier) materials are useful to instructors who apply the oral and conversational approach to teaching Ukrainian.

HORNJATKEVYC, A. J. *Contemporary Ukrainian*. Mimeographed. Department of Slavic Languages, University of Alberta, 1975.

1. Waterloo: Ukr. 201/202 (Intermediate)
Alberta: Ukr. 200
2. According to the Manitoba reviewer, this is a grammar book for intermediate Ukrainian. It gives some information on the Ukrainian sound system, including prosody (intonation and accentuation), pronunciation, punctuation, and also some comments on elementary syntax. The main part deals with morphology. The author takes a structural-linguistic approach to the subject. Thus, in his treatment of the verb, he follows the "basic stem" approach and not the traditional "two stem" approach. Although he claims that the rules for various stem modifications are simple, it is the opinion of the reviewer that they are quite difficult for a student without any previous linguistic background. The same refers to the rules of accentuation. To introduce these rules (if in reality there are such rules) at the beginner's level only confuses students. Otherwise, the book is good. The definitions and explanations of the basic grammar points are quite explicit. Comparisons are frequently made with English grammar and the differences are explained. However, except for the illustrative materials, there are very few grammar exercises. Some dialogues and passages for translation are included. Parallel translations of the

texts are unnecessary. The selection of the vocabulary is very good. It adheres to standard literary Ukrainian and also includes some vocabulary pertinent to North American life. The book also has some useful comments on Ukrainian phraseology and on Ukrainian authors whose names are included in the text. The text can be used as a reference grammar on the intermediate level or even as a textbook, if supplemented by a proper reader and extensive exercises. The Waterloo instructor states that the text has proven to be very valuable. It provides a good gradation of material from easy to difficult and introduces a substantial amount of useful vocabulary, idioms, and conversational phrases, while systematically and continuously introducing points of grammar. The grammar explanations are based on linguistic analysis and are illustrated with effective examples. During her six years of teaching Ukrainian, the instructor has used Stechishin, Struk, and Molodid's grammar and is convinced that Hornjatkevyc's text is the best of them. Waterloo conducted an evaluation of the textbook by students and their comments were: concise and systematic; does not dwell on irrelevant material; well-organized material with worthwhile examples; contains useful dialogues and valuable vocabulary. There were no negative responses. Alberta feels that although Hornjatkevyc's text was originally written as a textbook for graduate students in Slavic languages and literatures, it can serve as a review text when used in conjunction with a reader. Both universities have been using the text since 1975. Alberta did not indicate any intention to replace the text and Waterloo intends to continue to use it, hoping that the author will soon come up with a more polished version, particularly including a table of contents and an index.

HUMESKY, A. *Modern Ukrainian*. Unpublished manuscript.

1. Harvard: Introductory Ukrainian

2. A first-year university grammar which presents the fundamental morphology and vocabulary, including some notes on syntax and intonation. It has twenty lessons which could be covered within an academic year. The approximate time allotted per lesson is one week. Some lessons, however, may take longer. Dialogues serve as a pattern for conversation and, according to the author, are *not* intended for memorization. Lesson vocabulary contains all the new words and idioms in the given lesson. There are specific exercises for each grammar point and exercises of a general nature (reading, translation). Review exercises appear after every four lessons. It also includes suggestions for use of the book.

KOPACH, Oleksandra. *Khrestomatiia z novoi ukrainskoi literatury*. Toronto: OUPK, 1970.

1. Manitoba: Intermediate Ukrainian; Advanced Ukrainian

2. The reader was prepared for the higher grades of *Kursy Ukrainoznavstva* and is, according to the author, a continuation of Kysilewsky's

reader (New York, 1961 and 1962). It includes prose, poetry, drama, and essays by contemporary Ukrainian authors in Ukraine and abroad. Each selection is introduced by a brief bio-bibliography and a short literary critique. Soviet Ukrainian texts have been reedited in accordance with Holoskevych's orthographical dictionary with regard to morphological forms, vocative case endings, and Russianized word-forms. Selections in the book have been arranged alphabetically by author. It is an excellent supplement to any grammar textbook at the intermediate and advanced levels. Students seem to be more receptive to contemporary Ukrainian literature than any other. The book can also serve as a supplementary text in a course on Ukrainian stylistics. The texts (as in many other readers) should have, but lack stresses and a vocabulary following each text or at the end of the book. To give a better profile of contemporary Ukrainian literature, authors of lesser significance should be replaced by more important ones.

KYSLYTSIA, D. *Hramatyka ukrainskoi movy. Syntaksa*. 3rd ed. Toronto: Novi Dni, 1972.

1. Manitoba: Advanced Ukrainian
Carleton: Ukrainian 36.216

2. In the textbook there is a notable departure from generally accepted terminology. The terminology should be adjusted to contemporary usage. The structure of the book is archaic. A considerable number of examples are not suited to the North American situation or the time, e.g., "Kosar mantachyt kosu," "kartuz," "borona." In general, there is no balance between the discussions of the simple and complex sentences. More attention should be devoted to the sentence as such, and not to various types of complex sentences. There are some orthographical discrepancies which complicate the learning of the material. The textbook has an excess of petty rules which, arbitrarily treated by the author, do not remain in the student's mind and are only an added burden when learning the essential ones. Consequently, the textbook presents difficulties to the student in the material he is expected to learn in an advanced course. Manitoba intends to replace the textbook.

LUCKYJ, George and RUDNYCKYJ, Jaroslav. *A Modern Ukrainian Grammar*. Winnipeg: Ukrainian Free Academy of Sciences, 1958.

1. Manitoba: Introductory Ukrainian

2. The textbook had been used by Manitoba for many years. It was replaced by Duravet's Level I (unrevised); Zhluktenko's book is being used on a trial basis. This book should be completely revised. Methodologically and lexically the text is outdated. The material should be introduced from lesson to lesson in a more logical and progressive manner. The material of the preceding lesson(s) should be interwoven with the material

of the following lesson. There should definitely be more exercises in each lesson covering new grammatical and lexical material and reviewing the material of the previous lesson(s). Progressive review exercises should be included after a fair number of lessons. Texts should be presented in a more interesting manner. Vocabulary, especially in the second half of the textbook, is definitely too extensive and outdated. It should be entirely revised and grouped alphabetically. The textbook is being used in grades 11 and 12 of Manitoba high schools.

MAKAROVA, H. et al. *Learn Ukrainian: An Elementary Practical Course in Conversational Ukrainian*. Kiev: "Vyshcha shkola," 1975.

1. Manitoba: 52.091 Introductory Ukrainian (Evening course)

2. This book is meant to be used in an elementary practical course for English-speaking persons who wish to study Ukrainian by themselves or with an instructor. It consists of thirty lessons. Part I includes nine lessons which acquaint the student with the Ukrainian phonetic system, articulation of the sounds, and peculiarities of stress and intonation. Part II consists of twenty-one lessons which contain the main grammar patterns designed to develop everyday speech and serve as the basis for a more extensive study of Ukrainian. This part presents the declension of nouns (all case forms), and the main forms of the verbs, adjectives, numerals, pronouns, and adverbs. Besides the syntax of a simple sentence, some types of complex and compound sentences are presented in the book. Vocabulary covers those words which are necessary for everyday communication, taking into account the frequency of their usage and suitability to fill in the grammar patterns. The total number of words used in this book amounts to 1,000. The book also includes a guide on how to use it.

MEDUSHEVSKY, A. and ZYATKOVSKA, R. *Ukrainian Grammar*. Kiev: "Radianska shkola," 1963.

1. Manitoba: Introductory Ukrainian; Intermediate Ukrainian
Carleton: Ukrainian 36.216

2. The book is designed for foreign students and English-speaking Ukrainians abroad. All explanations and definitions of grammatical rules are in English. It is a concise grammar and contains adequate information on contemporary Ukrainian phonology (Part I), morphology (Part II) and syntax (Part III). It also includes a Ukrainian-English vocabulary. The theoretical material in the textbook is illustrated by excerpts from Ukrainian literature and accompanied by exercises. Like most Soviet textbooks, this one is saturated with tendentious material. This is the major shortcoming of the book. The *Grammar* may be used as a textbook for the introductory and intermediate levels, but must be supplemented by a reader and additional grammar exercises.

Journal

PIKULYK, Romana. *Let's Speak Ukrainian*. Mimeographed.

1. York: Intermediate Ukrainian

2. This unpublished grammar has approx. 200 pages of dialogues and readings with vocabulary and structure drills. The dialogues and structure drills are supplemented by some of the sentence translations in Struk's mimeographed *Intermediate Ukrainian*. Pikulyk's material is organized according to one major structure per chapter, though not necessarily in the same order as the Struk book. Pikulyk's dialogues and vocabulary are thematically organized in order to provide students with an adequate speaking vocabulary for an modern urban environment. The dialogues always contain the structure that is being taught in a particular lesson, and no new structures are introduced in the dialogues before they have been explained in the lesson sequence. Each chapter of this book also contains supplementary reading material and a vocabulary. The instructor often has to divide the intermediate group into two levels. Only the advanced group is responsible for the supplements, and this provides the instructor with an opportunity to give fair grades.

PIKULYK, Romana. *Suchasni temy*. Mimeographed reader.

1. York: Intermediate Ukrainian

2. The reader consists of articles from various Ukrainian journals and newspapers, such as *Suchasnist*, *Kultura i zhyttia*, *Visti z Ukrainy*, and *Perets*. The articles are accompanied by a vocabulary.

PIKULYK, Romana. *Ukraina dvadtsiatoho stolittia*. Mimeographed reader.

1. York: Advanced Ukrainian

2. The reader consists of articles on various themes pertaining to twentieth-century Ukraine. It includes excerpts from the Universals of the Central Rada, Skrypnyk's *Donbas i Ukraina*, Mazlakh and Shakhrai's *Do khvyli*, Marunchak's *Studii*, Kulish's *Narodnyi Malakhii*, short stories by V. Shevchuk, Berdnyk, and Khvylovy, poetry by Rylsky, Ty-chyna, and the poets of the sixties and seventies, and essays by Dziuba, Moroz, and Sverstiuk. A vocabulary for this reader is in preparation, financed by a Shevchenko Foundation grant. The purpose of the reader is to have students learn some significant facts about modern Ukrainian history and culture while improving their reading and writing. In some years the instructor requires students who are very advanced to read Pidmohylny's *Misto* and write a book report in Ukrainian. The instructor also shows films such as *The Sea* (National Film Board), which has been dubbed into Ukrainian, and Dovzhenko's *Earth*. Students write short compositions about these.

POPIL, N. *Aspects of Ukrainian Grammar*. Exercise Book and Tape Script.

1. Regina: Elementary Ukrainian I; Elementary Ukrainian II; Intermediate Ukrainian

Waterloo: Ukrainian 101/102; Ukrainian 201/202

2. Both universities use this material in their language laboratory. Regina uses Popil's *Aspects* together with Stechishin's textbook and has no immediate plans to replace this material. Waterloo uses it with Hor-njatkevyc's *Contemporary Ukrainian*.

POPIL, N. *Ukrainian Dictations*. Leaflets.

1. Regina: Ukrainian 201 (Advanced Ukrainian)
2. These leaflets are used in the language laboratory.

SLAVUTYCH, Yar. *Conversational Ukrainian*. 4th ed. Part I—Lessons 1-50; Part II—Lessons 51-75. Edmonton-Winnipeg: Gateway Publishers, 1973.

1. Alberta: Ukr. 331-332 (Second-year Ukrainian, Part II)
Toronto: SLA 108 Y (Introductory Ukrainian)
Regina: Ukrainian 201 (Advanced Ukrainian); Ukrainian 202 (Advanced Language Practice)
Calgary: Ukrainian 205/207 Beginner's Ukrainian (Part I);
Ukrainian 301/303 Second Year University Ukrainian (Part II)
Western Ontario: Advanced Ukrainian (Part I)
Manitoba: Conversational Ukrainian
Windsor: Ukrainian 090, 111, 211

2. Slavutych is suitable for an introductory course. Toronto has been using it for one year but intends, in due time, to prepare its own textbook. Alberta has been using it for many years. Regina has no immediate plans to replace the text. Calgary has used it for both of its courses for six years and finds it difficult but feasible for Beginners Ukrainian if used with an abundance of supplementary material which simplifies the grammar and provides for much repetition and practice. For levels I and II the book is good from lesson 20 onward. Grammar is presented well, and the cultural content is interesting and informative. Supplementary hand-outs are prepared by the instructor to complement the text. The instructor would use another text if a better one were available. Western Ontario finds the text "most inadequate" and feels it should be totally revised. A similar opinion has been expressed by Manitoba's (St. Andrew's College) instructor. In his opinion, there are too many orthographical, lexical, and syntactical mistakes in the language used in this textbook. The method of presenting the grammar is chaotic and unclear. The content of the texts used in the exercises is not adapted to the Canadian milieu. The texts, according to the reviewer and instructor, have all kinds of "political

propaganda and panegyrics directed at those of our linguists who are still alive, and whom the author especially favours." In Canada, the reviewer states, another text for Ukrainian conversation is necessary. A new, thoroughly revised edition of the text, according to the author, is in preparation. Tapes for the textbook are made on request. Carleton used the book for four years, but has now switched to Duravetz's Levels I and II. Slavutych's Part I (Lessons 1-50) is used in Alberta's high schools.

SLAVUTYCH, Yar. *Ukrainian by the Audio-Visual Method*. Part One, Didier.

1. Saskatchewan: Introductory Ukrainian; Intermediate Ukrainian
York: Elementary Ukrainian

2. The textbook has been used by Saskatchewan for the last six years and it seems to be suitable for these two levels. In the Intermediate Ukrainian course, it is supplemented by R. Franko's *Ukrainian by the Audio-Visual Method*, Part II, Section One, Didier. So far the Department has no intention of replacing them. (Both in the Introductory and in the Intermediate courses Stechishin is used as reference material). York uses Slavutych's (Didier) lessons 1, 2, 6, 11 and 14 (2nd part) as a supplement in the Elementary Ukrainian course.

SMYRNIW, W. *Ukrainian Prose Manual: A Text for Intermediate Language Studies*. Oakville, Ont.: Mosaic Press, 1977.

1. Waterloo: Ukr. 201/202 (Elementary)

Alberta: Ukr. 200

McMaster: Intermediate Ukrainian; Advanced Ukrainian

2. In his preface to the reader, the compiler states that "various anthologies containing literary works of art" have proven to be unsatisfactory for students at the intermediate level, and there is a need to acquaint them with "everyday prose in order to understand or to appreciate the subtleties of the literary masterpieces." Therefore, the present textbook "provides an alternative approach' to enable the student to acquire a working knowledge of the prosaic and the conventional level of Ukrainian..." The lessons in the reader are based on articles and sketches from recent issues of *Literaturna Ukraina* and *Perets*. The texts were selected "to present diverse samples of the lexical, syntactical and idiomatic features of the everyday language that is spoken in the Ukraine at present." The original orthography has been preserved in the selections. According to the Manitoba reviewer, the idioms and expressions are of a coarse, low level and Smyrniw's book is not suitable for intermediate or advanced courses. With the exception of some lessons, the material is of low quality. It would be more suitable for a third-year Ukrainian stylistics course to acquaint a student with the journalistic-publicistic style in contemporary Ukraine. Alberta and Waterloo use the book only as an enrichment text. Alberta uses it together with Hornjatkevyc's book.

STECHISHIN, J. *Ukrainian Grammar*.

1. Saskatchewan: Introductory Ukrainian; Intermediate Ukrainian
Regina: Ukrainian 100 (Introductory); Ukrainian 101 (Elementary Ukrainian II); Ukrainian 200 (Intermediate)
Alberta: Ukrainian 100; Ukrainian 303-304

2. Saskatchewan has used the text as reference material for the last twenty-five years. It has its shortcomings but, in the absence of a more suitable text, it continues to serve the needs of the Department. The Department would replace it if a better text could be found. Regina has used the book for about ten years as its main grammar text and has no immediate plans to replace it. Alberta has no major problems with the text; although it finds the vocabulary unsuitable in many ways, the text is adequate in other respects. It is especially useful in teaching Ukrainian 303-304. The text has been used at Alberta since 1969. Waterloo replaced the text with Hornjatkevyc.

STRUK, D. H. *Ukrainian for Undergraduates*. Mimeographed (to be published in 1978 by the Canadian Institute of Ukrainian Studies).

1. Toronto: SLA 208 Y, Intermediate Ukrainian
York: Intermediate Ukrainian

2. The text is suitable for an intermediate level where the emphasis is on morphology. Toronto does not plan to replace this text but, rather, create other texts around it. It has been used in Intermediate Ukrainian for eight years. Struk's chapters are organized, like Stilman's and Harkin's *Introductory Russian Grammar*, according to case structures: genitive, locative, etc. The main drawback of the Struk book, according to one reviewer, is that it contains no dialogues and thus presents Ukrainian as a dead language; the vocabulary is also inadequate. Some of the sentence translations from the text are used by York to complement their textbook.

ZHLUKTENKO, Yu., et al. *Ukrainian: A Text-Book for Beginners*. Kiev: "Vyshcha shkola," 1973.

1. Manitoba: 52.091 (Introductory Ukrainian); 52.125 (Intermediate Ukrainian)
Alberta: Ukrainian 100
McMaster: Introductory Ukrainian
Ottawa: Introductory Ukrainian
Carleton: Introductory Ukrainian

2. The text is comprised of 54 lessons, 32 pages of reading material, and a key to the translation exercises. It is accompanied by recordings of the phonetic drill (lesson 1-10) texts, poetry, and songs. Manitoba has been using the text in Introductory (Lessons 1-37) and Intermediate (Lessons 38-54) Ukrainian for two years on a trial basis. The instructor of Introductory Ukrainian feels that of the textbooks available, for In-

troductory Ukrainian this is probably the best, but it has very serious shortcomings. The main points of grammar are introduced too slowly. The student must go through 37 lessons (180 pages) before all the cases are introduced. Because so many unimportant details are included, and because the main points of grammar are introduced too slowly, it is not possible to include all the material to the end of lesson 37. Students were responsible for *all* material (including vocabularies) to the end of lesson 19. From lesson 20-37, they were responsible for the main grammatical points (especially cases). Although they read the texts of most of the lessons, they were responsible for only a passive knowledge of the vocabularies (ability to recognize the words, not reproduce them). The book has too few exercises, which do not cover all the points taken in each lesson. There are no vocabulary lists after lesson 19. The key to translations should be eliminated. However, the instructor prepared her own version of the translation exercises so that students would not simply copy from the key. No other materials were used except for handouts and exercises prepared by the instructor. Handouts included tables of case endings. Exercises included the instructor's own versions of the translation exercises found at the end of each chapter of the text. Russianized words and phraseology in the textbook must be corrected by the instructor. The text will be used again but, because of the above shortcomings, both grammar and reading material to be covered in the introductory course will be selected differently. It will again be supplemented by extensive exercises and reading material with a Canadian orientation. Pauses to allow students to repeat phrases had to be lengthened in the recordings of the texts and phonetic drills. The instructor of the Intermediate Ukrainian course at Manitoba feels that Zhluktenko's book is more suitable for the introductory level than the intermediate. Thus it has to be supplemented by other material and exercises. The selection of vocabulary touches upon various spheres of life; however, it is limited to the conditions existing in Soviet Ukraine and not in Canada. Both instructors discussed the text and agree on the above points. Students were also asked to evaluate the book and most agreed that the text was inadequate for their needs. Alberta and Ottawa use Zhluktenko's book as reference material in teaching Introductory Ukrainian.

PRIMARY SOURCES TO IMMIGRATION AND
SETTLEMENT AT THE PUBLIC ARCHIVES OF CANADA
(WITH SPECIFIC REFERENCE TO UKRAINIANS)

PART II

This article is the second in a series representing a thematic approach to federal government records held by the Public Archives of Canada. Whereas this paper deals specifically with these sources in relation to Ukrainians, the Public Records Division of the Public Archives has embarked on a multifaceted project encompassing all ethno-cultural groups which emigrated to Canada between 1867 and 1936. The result of this continuing work in a *Guide to Government Sources* structured around the two themes of immigration and land settlement. The *Guide* consists of relevant data extracted from the records of all government departments, agencies, and commissions which pertain to immigration to Canada and land settlement in the west. References to ethnic groups have been catalogued and cross-referenced according to nationality and Record Group (the archival term for records of a particular governmental department, agency, or specific responsibility).

The *Guide* is available for use by researchers at the present time. Ultimately a published companion will be available as an introduction to the Public Records Division in general. The introduction will examine the two themes and act at the same time as an operating manual to the *Guide* itself. Both the *Guide* and the published introduction should prove to be invaluable research aids to scholars interested in these areas of Canadian history.

THE ROYAL CANADIAN MOUNTED POLICE

The North West Mounted Police (NWMP) have been described as an essential part of Sir John A. Macdonald's National Policy.¹ The force played a vital role in taming the western frontier and allowing peaceful development to occur. It attempted, with varying degrees of success, to establish law and order, pacify the Indian population, and suppress liquor traffic. The net result of their work was colonization of the west without the large cost in human lives and material of the American experience.

Macdonald devoted considerable thought to the problem of policing the prairies. He became intrigued by the idea of a force which would incorporate both military and civil powers. Such a force could assert

¹ R. C. MacLeod, *The North West Mounted Police and Law Enforcement, 1873-1905* (Toronto, 1976), p. 3.

Canadian sovereignty and simultaneously enforce Canadian justice. By combining these two functions in one body, the government could also reduce costs. This personal interest in the development of the NWMP was to become a lifelong pursuit for Macdonald. For twelve of the thirteen years that he was Prime Minister, Macdonald also served as Minister accountable for the NWMP.

First mention of such a police force appeared in an Order-In-Council dated April 6, 1870. In that document Macdonald proposed "the organization of a Police Force for service in the North West Territories."² In spite of the urgent tone expressed in the recommendation, the NWMP force was not constituted until 1873. On May 23, 1873, "An Act Respecting the Administration of Justice and for the Establishment of a Police Force in the North West Territories" was passed.³ Still, the final mobilization of the NWMP was delayed for three more months.⁴

The NWMP Act empowered the three hundred-member force to preserve peace, prevent crime, and apprehend criminals anywhere within the North West. Each member served a three-year term, at the end of which he was entitled to 160 acres of land. The force was responsible to the Minister of Justice and served under the management and control of his Department.

A change in government after the 1873 election appeared to spell the end of the NWMP's short history. The Liberals criticized the use of a federal paramilitary force to patrol the west. Edward Blake led the critics with arguments which he repeated throughout his political career. He resented the centralization of power in Ottawa and supported provincial autonomy. Ironically, he became Minister of Justice in 1875 and thus responsible for the NWMP. The problem was rectified eventually by the transfer of the responsibility for the force to the Secretary of State for Canada.⁵

Prime Minister Alexander Mackenzie tolerated the force and found it useful, especially in the face of the recurrent political trouble which plagued the west. He, in fact, increased their duties by empowering them to seize and destroy all intoxicating drinks in the North West Territories.⁶

The election of 1878 resulted in Macdonald's return to power. He quickly resumed his personal affiliation with the NWMP by transferring the responsibility for the force from the Secretary of State to his own portfolio, the Department of the Interior.⁷ In the ensuing years of his political reign, he repeatedly demonstrated his desire to make the NWMP

² Order-In-Council, P.C. 1335, April 6, 1870.

³ *Statutes of Canada*, 36 Vic., c. 35, 1873.

⁴ Order-In-Council, P.C. 1134(a), August 3, 1873.

⁵ Order-In-Council, P.C. 364, August 16, 1876.

⁶ *Statutes of Canada*, 37 Vic., c. 22, Section 19(4), 1874.

⁷ Order-In-Council, P.C. 957, November 14, 1878.

permanent. In 1879 legislation was introduced increasing the force to five hundred men. When the second Riel rebellion erupted in 1885, Macdonald requested permission to double the size of the force to one thousand men.⁸ He cited several reasons other than the rebellion as justification for the increase: "The long frontier . . . the rapid increase in population . . . the large mix of population . . . and the lawlessness which prevails on the southern frontier."⁹ Another sign of Macdonald's attempt to make the NWMP permanent was legislation introduced in 1889, establishing a pension plan for its members.¹⁰

Neither Macdonald's death in 1891 nor the election of a Liberal government in 1896 spelled the end of the force. The flood of immigrants to the prairies and the Klondike Gold Rush necessitated the retention of the NWMP, in spite of continued criticism from some members of the Liberal caucus. In 1904 King Edward VII honoured the force by adding the prefix "Royal" to their name, a reward for their long service to the Crown.¹¹ No other major changes occurred within the organization until the outbreak of World War I.

As the conflict in Europe intensified, all areas of Canadian society, including the RNWMP, felt its effects. As casualties mounted, the army's need for more men became acute. The Commissioner of the RNWMP responded by recommending a reduction in the responsibilities of the force, thus freeing more men for service. On January 1, 1917, the Dominion Government, with the consent of the provinces, cancelled its law-enforcement agreements with Manitoba, Saskatchewan and Alberta.¹² Shortly thereafter a cavalry unit composed of 736 RNWMP officers and men was recruited and sent overseas.¹³

The Privy Council, on December 12, 1918, reassigned the RNWMP to duty in Manitoba, Saskatchewan and Alberta, extended the jurisdiction to British Columbia and Ontario Military District No. 10, and increased the size of the force to two thousand men.¹⁴ The Order-In-Council which instituted these changes also outlined the duties of the force. These duties included: (1) the enforcement of federal laws; (2) patrolling and protecting the International Boundary Line; (3) enforcing Orders-In-Council under the War Measures Act for the protection of Public Safety; and (4) aid and assistance to civil powers in the presentation of law and order whenever the Government of Canada may direct.¹⁵

⁸ *Statutes of Canada*, 48-49 Vic., c. 53, 1885.

⁹ *House of Commons Debates*, Hansard, June 9, 1885, p. 2403.

¹⁰ *Ibid.*, April 15, 1889, p. 1269.

¹¹ MacLeod, p. 166.

¹² Orders-In-Council, P.C. 2959, 2960, 2961, November 29, 1916.

¹³ Order-In-Council, P.C. 3076(a), December 12, 1918.

¹⁴ Order-In-Council, P.C. 3076, December 12, 1918.

¹⁵ *Ibid.*

In 1919 the Dominion Police Force was disbanded and its functions were amalgamated with the RNWMP.¹⁶ By 1920 significant changes had occurred within the force in terms of the increased membership and the nationwide scope of its jurisdiction. In order to reflect these new developments the name of the force was changed once again to its present title, the Royal Canadian Mounted Police. The force continued to flourish during the 1920s. By 1933 its membership was nearly 2,500, and it dispensed local police protection also for the three Maritime provinces of Nova Scotia, New Brunswick and Prince Edward Island.

Royal Canadian Mounted Police Records and Ukrainians

The Public Archives contains over one thousand feet of documents and correspondence in RG 18—the RCMP Record Group. This material ranges from correspondence files of the Comptroller, Commissioner, and Detachment Superintendents to regulations, crime reports, accounts, and supply records. These data span the period from the inception of the force in 1874 until the early 1930s and demonstrate the day-to-day activities of the RCMP.

Aside from information related directly to police work, these records also contain valuable data about the development of western Canada. Unlike most police forces, the RCMP were required to perform a myriad of non-police duties. Reports from various detachments describe the growth of communities and related problems. During its early history, the force had such diverse tasks as reporting on crop conditions, providing meteorological services, providing relief for destitute settlers and native peoples, issuing seed grain to settlers, enforcing quarantine regulations, suppressing liquor traffic and prostitution, and controlling rowdiness on Sundays.

All of these examples are cases extracted from the A1(a) Series, the Comptroller's Office Subject Files, 1874-1919. These records, together with the B1(a) Series—the Commissioner's Office Subject Files, 1882-1920—contain the bulk of information pertaining to Ukrainian settlers. The Comptroller's Office Series is arranged chronologically and by subject files.¹⁷ It contains over twice the number of entries dealing with Ukrainian settlers and a wider range of material than the Commissioner's Series. Together they describe the legal and social conditions experienced by Ukrainian settlers from the late 1890s to 1916. References to Ukrainians can be found in both series under the headings of Ruthenians, Bukovinians, Galicians, Austrians, and Russians; they deal with such matters as relief

¹⁶ *Statutes of Canada*, 10 Geo. V., c. 28, 1920.

¹⁷ More detailed information regarding the configuration of RCMP records can be found in the General Inventory Series RG 18, published by the Public Records Division of the Public Archives of Canada, 1975.

to destitute settlers, contagious diseases, investigation of accidental deaths and suicides, trouble between communities, extradition, and criminal cases. The main difference between the two series is that the B1(a) Series contains data on internment and enemy aliens.

One other source of RCMP material useful in studying the history of Ukrainians in Canada is the Annual Report written by the Commissioner and his staff. These reports reveal societal and, more particularly, police attitudes towards the Ukrainians and other immigrants. One such report, published in 1896, described a Galician community near Edna, Saskatchewan, as "a very undesirable clan, as they generally arrive here with very little money and are all very ignorant."¹⁸ Although projecting a negative attitude, the reports are useful in gauging community progress and in determining the problems faced by immigrant settlers.

In conclusion, the RCMP records held at the Public Archives of Canada provide an interesting source to Ukrainian immigration history. A number of specific case files can be used in the study of individuals and also to learn about the general conditions which affected the settlement of western Canada. These files also demonstrate the interaction between Ukrainian homesteaders and labourers and the Canadian legal system. All of this is available to researchers in RG 18—the RCMP records.

Doug Whyte

Archivist

Public Archives of Canada

¹⁸ *Report of RCMP*, Annual Report of Commissioner L. W. Herchmer, 1896, p. 12.

THE OFFICE OF THE REGISTRAR GENERAL

The History of the Office of the Registrar General

Shortly after Confederation, the newly created office of the Secretary of State assumed the duties of the Registrar General of Canada: the registering of "all Instruments of Summons, Commissions, Letters Patent, Writs and other Instruments and Documents issued under the Great Seal."¹ These included all bonds; warrants of extradition; warrants for the removal of prisoners; deeds of sale of land, leases, surrenders, and releases of land; appointments of persons to government service; charters of incorporation; proclamations; and commissions of appointment.

The Office of the Registrar General has been under the jurisdiction of the Department of the Secretary of State for most of its existence. However, under the Government Organization Act the responsibility for the Office of the Registrar General was transferred in 1966 to the Department of the Registrar General created at that time.² Further reorganization occurred on December 21, 1967, when the Department of Consumer and Corporate Affairs was created and assumed all the duties of the Department of the Registrar General, which subsequently ceased to exist.³

The Records of the Office of the Registrar General ⁴

All documents recorded in the Office of the Registrar General have been microfilmed and transferred to the Public Records Division of the Public Archives of Canada. Two types of indexes to these documents exist: the *Key of the General Index*, and the *General Index*. A *Computer Print-out* provides a conversion list from the volume number to the corresponding microfilm reel number.

The *Key of the General Index* (vol. 1, 1867-1918 and vol. 2, 1919-47) contains a nominal listing of headings in alphabetical order with page (folio) number and line number corresponding to those in the *General Index*. For example, on page 130 in vol. 1 of the *Key* a listing appears for the letter "G". Opposite the entry for the Grand River Navigation Company appear the page (folio) number (p. 161) and the line number (p. 33) where this company is listed in the *General Index*.

The *General Index* identifies the nature of the document, the date of issue, the liber (register), and the page (folio) number in the liber where

¹ *Statutes of Canada*, 31 Vic., c. 42, May 22, 1868.

² *Ibid.*, 14-15 Vic., c. 25, June 16, 1966.

³ *Ibid.*, 16 Vic., c. 16, December 21, 1967.

⁴ The information offered to assist the researcher in locating documents of the Office of the Registrar General is based on the explanation found in the Inventory to this material in the Public Records Division.

a copy of the relevant document may be found. The *General Index* is composed of six volumes: 1867-1908, 1908-19, 1919-29, 1930-39, 1940-47, and 1948-54. An additional index for the post-1954 period is located in two volumes entitled *Indexes to Documents Registered* (1955-65 and 1957-66).

To continue the search for the document pertaining to the Grand River Navigation Company, one would turn to p. 161 in vol. 1 of the *General Index*. On line 33, opposite the entry title identifying the company, additional information gives the liber ("Q"), folio (29) and date (April 19, 1872).

It is necessary to locate the volume number assigned to the liber in order to locate a copy of the document. The *Computer Printout* contains this information. It is divided into three fields of data:

1. Subject Index, e.g., Bonds, Charters, Commissions, etc.
2. Chronological Index, e.g., 1760-62, 1761, 1763-64, etc.
3. Control Index, e.g., Liber A, Liber AA, Liber AX, Liber 1, etc.

The Control Index section in the *Computer Printout* is probably the most efficient way to find the volume number and corresponding microfilm reel number. A copy of the specified document may be then located.

Thus, the final step to finding the document about the Grand River Navigation Company requires consultation of the Control Index section in the *Computer Printout*. Under the entry for liber ("Q"), the general subject heading appears for "Exemplifications" for the period 1869-1903.⁵ Originally this material was found in vol. 324, which has been microfilmed onto reel no. C-3968. The document pertaining to the Grand River Navigation Company will be found there.

Subjects Extracted from the General Index Pertaining to Immigration and Land Settlement

The first three volumes of the *General Index* contain documents dealing with immigration and land settlement. The topics listed in vol. 2 provide a good overview of such documents:

Vol. 2, 1908-18

LAND

1. Appointments of agents and surveyors of Dominion Lands, and Deputy Governors for signing Letters Patent of Land.
2. Cancellations of charters to various land companies, Dominion Land Patents.

⁵ An exemplification is an official transcript of a document from public records made to be used as evidence and authenticated as a true copy.

Journal

3. Surrender and release of land.
4. Appointments of Commissioners to investigate such matters as half-breed land grants, conflicting land grants, right of cutting hay, transportation of grain.
5. Supplementary land patents to ranch companies, coal companies, steamship companies, land and irrigation companies, grain companies, lumber companies, and immigration aid societies.

SETTLEMENT

1. Appointments of coroners, immigration agents, post masters, census officers, and physicians inspecting quarantine stations.
2. Certificates of naturalization with lists of recipients, certificates of oath of allegiance, certificates of oath of residence, certificates of British nationality.
3. Licences under Consolidated Orders Respecting trading with the Enemy and Respecting Enemy Publications. (Various Ukrainian, German, and Finnish publishing companies received permission to publish in an alien language.)
4. Proclamations announcing that German and Austro-Hungarian immigrants in Canada should not be arrested, but should not be allowed to take up arms, and declaring places for registration of alien enemies. Other proclamations deal with establishing quarantine regulations, allowing for the extradition of criminals, dividing Manitoba into electoral districts, establishing quarantine regulations, and restricting the landing of pauper or destitute immigrants or immigrants suffering from communicable diseases in Canada.
5. Charters of Incorporation to The Belgian Children's Relief Fund of Montreal, Polish Citizens Committee of Montreal, Italian Canadian Soldiers Aid, Canadian Jewish Committee Incorporated, Canadian Serbian Relief Committee, the Canadian Japanese Social and Athletic Club Limited, etc.

LEGAL

1. Appointments of Police Commissioners, RNWMP Officers, Commissioners of the NWT and Yukon Territory, Chief Justices of the Court of Appeal, and Justices of Appeal for the Prairie region, etc.
2. Lists of pardons (some Slavic surnames).
3. Warrants of Extradition and Recipias; Warrants under the "Fugitive Offenders Act"; Warrants under the Consolidated Orders pertaining to censorship allowing or disallowing certain newspapers, periodicals, pamphlets, books, and magazines to be published in Ukrainian, Russian, Bulgarian, Finnish, Yiddish, and German.

A Sample of Material about Ukrainians in the Records of the Office of the Registrar General

A partial list of various Ukrainian associations which sought a charter of incorporation is enumerated below.⁶ This information has been extracted from the *General Indexes*.

- a. Ruthenian Farmers' Elevator Co. Ltd., 1917, p. 788.
- b. Galician Financial Company of Canada Limited, 1914, p. 722.
- c. Canadian Ukrainian Institute Prosvita, 1918, p. 493.
- d. Ruthenian Farmers' Lumber Company, 1920, p. 570.
- e. Union of Ukrainian Community Centres, 1928, p. 229.
- f. The Ukrainian People's Home Association, 1929, p. 241.
- g. Ukrainian Red Cross Society, 1919, p. 566.
- h. The Friends of Ukraine Limited, 1922, p. 615.
- i. The Ukrainian Farmer Temple Association, 1924, p. 645.
- j. Ukrainian Boy Scouts and Sporting "Sitch" Association of Canada, 1924, p. 356.
- k. Ukrainian Relief Association, 1925, p. 356.
- l. The Ukrainian Settlers' Aid Association of Canada, 1927, p. 395.
- m. Supplementary Letters Patent to Ukrainian Boy Scouts and Sporting "Sitch" Association of Canada, 1925, p. 796.
- n. Ukrainian National Publishing Company Limited, 1938, p. 649.
- o. Arka Tradings Limited, 1946, p. 547.
- p. Association of United Ukrainian Canadians, 1946, p. 556.
- q. Supplementary Letters Patent to Ukrainian National Publishing Company Limited, 1940, p. 652.
- r. Ukrainian Independent Publishers Ltd., 1949, p. 373.
- s. The New Pathway Publishers Ltd., August 1957.
- t. Ukrainian Youth Association of Canada, September 1957.
- u. Ukrainian Canadian Committee, June 1963.
- v. Supplementary charter to The New Pathway Publishers Ltd., August 1960.

The organization of the Records of the Office of the Registrar General tends to discourage their use. However, a researcher with patience and perseverance will be rewarded for his stamina.

Nadia Kazymyra
Public Archives of Canada

⁶ This material was found by Vera Senchuk while she was an employee of the Public Archives of Canada, Public Records Division.

REVIEWS

Alexander Sydorenko, *The Kievan Academy in the Seventeenth Century*. Ottawa: University of Ottawa Press, 1977. xvi + 194 pp.
University of Ottawa Ukrainian Studies, № 1.

Universally acknowledged as the major cultural institution of seventeenth-century Ukraine, the Kievan Academy has been the object of widely divergent interpretations in Ukrainian historiography. Sydorenko's monograph is not merely another contribution to the debate, but a synthetic study which presents a more definitive view of the Academy than has yet been available.

The first virtue of the work is thoroughness. Sydorenko informs the reader at the outset that he has had "no direct access to archival materials, particularly to contemporary treatises and academic theses" (p. ix), but this is the only important deficiency in his sources. The monograph is based on works of nineteenth and twentieth-century Ukrainian, Russian, and Polish historiography, published documentary collections, and Western scholarly works. The bibliography of these sources is the most exhaustive that has yet appeared.

Sydorenko's interpretive achievement is no less significant. The problem to be faced is the definition of the Academy's character and influence: no easy task, since the Academy—like its creator, Metropolitan Petro Mohyla—was an amalgam of Orthodox (Byzantine and Russian) and Catholic (Latin and Polish) elements. Ukrainian historians sympathetic to Mohyla have usually seen the Academy as the instrument whereby Ukrainian Orthodoxy was modernized—its theology liberated from hide-bound Byzantinism, its intellectual standard raised by adoption of the Jesuit curriculum. In this interpretation, the Academy becomes the beacon of Eastern Orthodoxy and—particularly satisfying to Ukrainian *amour-propre*—the enlightener of backward Russia.¹ Mohyla's contacts with the Papacy concerning the establishment of a Ukrainian patriarchate, as well as the Jesuit inspiration of his reforms, have allowed Catholic nationalist historians to share in this enthusiasm.² Others have dissented emphatically from this favourable view: Mykhailo Hrushevsky, regarding the Protestant Reformation as the true source of modern enlightenment, criticized Mo-

¹ For an extreme statement of this interpretation, see Franko B. Korchmaryk, *Dukhovi vplyvy Kyieva na Moskovshchynu v dobu Hetmanskoï Ukrainy* (New York, 1964).

² Cf. Hryhor Luzhnytsky, *Ukrainska Tserkva mizh skhodom i zachodom* (Philadelphia, 1954), pp. 358-66; Isydor Nahaievsky, *Ob'iednannia Tserkvy i ideia patriiarkhatu v Kyievi* (Toronto, 1961), pp. 64-72.

hyla for cleaving to an obscurantist Orthodoxy;³ the Polish historian Aleksander Jablonowski claimed that the Academy had merely drawn on the achievements of the Counter-Reformation in Poland;⁴ the Russian church historian Georgii Florovsky condemned Mohyla's reforms as a "pseudomorphosis" of Russian Orthodoxy.⁵

Having examined these conflicting interpretations, Sydorenko arrives at a view which neither denigrates the Academy nor exalts it beyond its merits. Seventeenth-century Ukrainian Orthodoxy was badly in need of reform, he argues, for its Byzantine heritage had lost its vitality. The Church exalted form and ritual over belief; its language, Church Slavonic, had become an archaic medium incapable of expressing contemporary thought; its sacred texts were riddled with errors for lack of competent scholarship. Renewal came from the Latin West, mediated through Poland: Mohyla transformed the Academy from a *bratstvo* school on the Byzantine model into an institution of the Jesuit *collegium* type. The introduction of neo-scholasticism and the use of Latin gave students access to the achievements of western-European Christianity, resulting in a comprehensive reform of Orthodox learning. For a century, Kievan clerics educated at the Academy played a leading role in the Orthodox Church, making it a preeminent force in Ukrainian and Russian intellectual life. To some extent—especially in the field of rhetoric and poetics—Kievan learning participated in the secular Renaissance. The combination of ecclesiastical and secular learning produced a unique "Kievan baroque spirituality" whose achievements, transmitted by churchmen, teachers, administrators, courtiers, craftsmen, and other professionals "left a profound imprint on the intellectual fabric of both Ukraine and Russia" (p. 161).

For all its excellence, Kievan learning exhibited a major deficiency: it took little note of the new spirit of rationalism and scientific inquiry which was transforming European intellectual life. The Kievans' intellectual interests were circumscribed by a rigidly defined ideal of service to God; accordingly, they shunned free speculation, rarely venturing beyond the scholasticism which was already outdated when they adopted it from the Jesuits. Science, medicine, and law were missing from the Academy's curriculum. "The typical Kievan," writes Sydorenko, "by his training and inclination, was not a daring intellectual innovator . . . he was essentially a proselytizer of proven concepts and opinions" (pp. 138-39). This accounts for the Academy's comparatively brief period of intellectual

³ Mykhailo Hrushevsky, *Z istorii relihiinoi dumky na Ukraini* (Winnipeg-Munich-Detroit, 1962), pp. 87-93.

⁴ Aleksander Jablonowski, *Akademia Kijowsko-Mohilanska* (Cracow, 1899-1900).

⁵ Georgii Florovsky, *Puti russkogo bogosloviia* (Paris, 1937), pp. 44-56.

ascendancy: after the mid-eighteenth century, "the incoming wave of empirical thought and secularism relegated it to relative obscurity" (p. 161).

Sydorenko's recognition of the conflict between the Kievans' love of learning and their desire for intellectual orthodoxy allows him to define the Academy's character more accurately than any of the interpreters previously mentioned. Unlike them, he is not concerned to prove that the Academy was "progressive" or "reactionary" in cultural, religious, or political terms. It emerges in his account as an institution which achieved eminence during a specific period because, situated at the crossroads of Western learning and Eastern Orthodoxy, it managed to achieve a temporary synthesis of these cultural forces.

Sydorenko's work, the most thorough and objective study available of the Kievan Academy in its period of greatness, deserves the attention of anyone concerned with Ukrainian intellectual history.

Myroslav Yurkevich
University of Michigan

Arnol'd Davidovich Margolin, *Ukraine and Policy of the Entente*. New York (?): n.p., 1977, viii + 261 pp. Translated by V. P. Sokoloff.

Ukraina i politika Antanty first appeared in Russian in Berlin in 1921, soon after the collapse of the Ukrainian People's Republic (UPR) and shortly before the author's emigration to the United States. A hastily written but thoughtful memoir by a member of the UPR's foreign service, Margolin's book is also a candid discussion of Ukrainian-Jewish relations in the light of the UPR's unsuccessful effort to secure diplomatic recognition and material support from the Entente powers at the end of the First World War.

Before working for the UPR, Margolin was involved in Jewish and Russian political and professional life. He was a founding member of the Kiev section of the Jewish Territorial Organisation, an active defense counsel for Jews victimized by the Tsarist system, and a member of the all-Russian People's Socialist Labour Party—a moderate organization, as Margolin himself confessed. Although vaguely familiar with Ukrainian cultural and political life from his contacts with the Kievan intelligentsia, as for the majority of the intelligentsia in the Russian Empire, Margolin's sphere of reference was Russian language and culture, while Ukrainian remained the "language of the countryside." Even after the February-March Revolution of 1917, Margolin and his colleagues believed in the concept of an all-Russian federation "from above," that is, established *ipso facto* by Petrograd. Margolin personally wished to see a federal system established similar to Switzerland's or America's. However, the Bolshevik seizure of power in November 1917 and the institution of the Bolshevik dictatorship after the dissolution of the Constituent Assembly in January 1918 caused Margolin to see a future federation coming "from below," that is, a voluntary association of the new national republics which had appeared on former tsarist territory. Margolin now felt that only the national republics could preserve the democratic nature of the Revolution which the Bolsheviks had destroyed.

All his adult life Margolin had regarded it his civic duty to combine his work with participation in the all-Russian movement for liberation from under tsarism. However, having rejected all-Russian political concepts, Margolin devoted his energies to building the new Ukrainian national state and to protecting the rights of Jews within that state. As a Ukrainian Jew, Margolin sought "a synthesis of the national duty of a Jew to his own people and his civic duty to the state in which he actually lives and has his civic rights." For Margolin this was "the essence of modern Jewry" (p. vii). Along with the commitment to Ukrainian political sovereignty, Margolin advocated the liquidation of the all-Russian parties and organizations on Ukrainian territory (and elsewhere), and their replacement with all-Ukrainian national parties which would include Ukrainian citizens of other nationalities. Conversely, this meant the end

of narrow, ethnically based organisations. To further these ends, Margolin joined the moderate Ukrainian Socialist Federalist Party in June 1918.

In effect, it was "the Jewish problem," as Margolin put it, which determined his participation in UPR government service. After the German forces left Ukraine in November-December 1918, the Ukrainian Directory soon proved unable to maintain internal order and external security. Margolin believed that only intervention by the Entente could stop the Red and White terror, which threatened to destroy the Jewish population and the new Ukrainian state. Accordingly, Margolin resigned from his seat in the State Senate (formerly the Ukrainian Supreme Court, where he had served since April 1918), and joined the cabinet of the First Directory as Assistant Minister for Foreign Affairs. His first diplomatic contacts, with French interventionist forces early in 1919, yielded unsubstantial results. In the spring he participated in the UPR diplomatic mission to the Paris Peace Conference. There he lobbied for recognition of the UPR by the great powers which, as it soon became clear, were more interested in disposing of the defeated powers' territories and establishing a new balance of power in eastern Europe. Neither Ukraine nor any other nation on former tsarist territory (except Poland) appeared to have any future in these great-power considerations. Margolin persisted in lobbying for the UPR at its mission in London before resigning altogether from UPR service in 1920.

Margolin's account of his efforts to convince leading Jewish and Russian political leaders, as well as the leaders of the Entente, of the Ukraine's and other republics' right to self-determination is a story of stoic frustration. Aside from clearly chauvinistic elements, those Russians and Jews who considered themselves democrats vexed Margolin with their obstinate refusal to admit the right of self-determination to these nations or to recognise the end of "Great Russia"—something which, in Margolin's view, the 1917 Revolutions had swept away. More seriously vexing, however, was the Ukrainian diplomatic mission's inability to win Entente support.

The UPR's place in the Entente's policy was never clear nor favourable. The Western Allies had shown an interest in the indigenous problems of eastern Europe only when they appeared to be useful as strategic-diplomatic tools—to help secure a military victory over the Central Powers and later to act as a bulwark against Bolshevism. The problem for the UPR was to prove to the Entente that it could fit these criteria. Like other Ukrainian political emigrés from this period, Margolin insisted that the UPR did offer the Entente a viable alternative and that the Entente forsook the UPR after extending recognition to it in 1917. Yet, the dispatch of military-political representatives by the Entente and *not* plenipotentiaries suggests that initial contacts were no more than an indication of a policy of exploratory opportunism. While Margolin registered his

bitterness at the Entente's wait-and-see attitude after the political and military discrediting of the Whiteguardists, it nevertheless became clear that Ukraine would have to accept either the French-preferred "Greater Poland" policy or the generally acceptable, restored "Great Russia" option as solutions to a European balance of power in the east. These two options served only to divide the UPR's diplomatic strategy.

While Margolin had reason to criticize the ineffectual character of the UPR's diplomatic personnel, it remains doubtful whether prolonged or more sophisticated "agitprop" by UPR representatives would have changed minds already committed to a new status quo in eastern Europe, for whom the concept of an independent Ukrainian nation-state was as foreign and incomprehensible as a proposal to dissolve the empires of the victorious powers. Lloyd George, who occasionally indulged in pious pro-Ukrainian statements, showed one of his rare moments of sincerity when he said that "no one thought seriously about this country [Ukraine] except as being part of Russia."¹

Although, on the one hand, Margolin appeared astute enough to grasp the realpolitik behind the Entente's refusal to support the UPR, he, on the other hand, persisted in arguing that the UPR's failure or unwillingness to undertake effective antipogrom measures injured the UPR's image abroad. He also maintained that the Directory's "utopianism and excessive leftism" alienated the bourgeois Entente leadership. One should remember, however, that the White forces carried out systematic and deliberate pogroms while enjoying, for the most part, Allied diplomatic and material support. Margolin's second criticism of the Directory only underlines his personal hostility to socialism. Although Entente leaders sometimes suspected the UPR of being Bolshevik, it was actually their fear of the Ukrainian separatist tendency and its threat to Russia's integral existence that worked against the UPR.

Margolin appears equally ambivalent about the question of responsibility for anti-Jewish pogroms in Ukraine. He took Vynnychenko and Petliura to task for insufficient vigilance and zeal in dealing with pogromshchiks. Indeed, so much did Margolin despair about the pogroms that he resigned three times from UPR service, as he felt that he could no longer retain an official position in a government that appeared either unwilling or unable to help his people. Yet on the other hand, Margolin recognized that because of the widespread anarchy the UPR was in no real position to combat the pogroms. He even devoted an entire chapter to the UPR's antipogrom legislation, which at best had a remonstrative effectiveness.

Margolin's attitude to the matter of Ukrainian-Jewish relations is noteworthy because he appears not to bear the timeworn grudges usually

¹ *Foreign Relations of the United States*, vol. VIII, *The Peace Conference* (Washington, 1941-49), pp. 272-73.

held by political emigrés from this period. In the emigration Margolin worked closely with Ukrainian academic and professional associations to overcome what he termed "the ethnic extremism" stemming from the revolutionary period. It was a prime tenet of his *weltanschauung* that the characteristics of extremist individuals or groups should not be attributed to an entire nation. "There are no 'good' or 'bad' nations," he wrote, "there are simply different levels in the evolution of any nation . . . as all Jews cannot be held responsible for the exploits of the Jewish commissars . . . so can the Ukrainian nation disown its own pogromshchik scum" (pp. 228-29). With some reason Margolin cited Herzen's remark that "exclusive feelings of nationality never lead to anything good" (p. 33). Satisfied that no innate anti-Semitic tendencies existed in the UPR, Margolin stressed the "pogrom habit" which tsarist subjugation had instilled in the broad masses of the Empire. Oddly enough however, Margolin ignores the socio-historic reasons for popular, as opposed to official, anti-Semitism.

Ukrainian emigré scholars have frequently cited Margolin's book along with the writings of Solomon Goldelman as proof of Jewish support for the Ukrainian nationalist cause and as reasons for detente in Ukrainian-Jewish relations, so often strained because of the legacy of pogroms and anti-Semitism. This English translation of Margolin's memoir should be of interest as a primary source to students of this period still unfamiliar with Russian. However, other studies of this period put the Ukrainian diplomatic failure in a clearer perspective.²

Furthermore, it has to be noted that this translation does not read as smoothly as do Margolin's other books written in English. This clumsiness is evident as early as the title itself, and it continues with surprises like "corngrowers" for *khliboroby* and "Gruzians" for Georgians. Most curious is the omission of the significant subtitle — *zapiski evreia i grazhdanina* — notes of a Jew and citizen; this gives more precision to the book's character. Finally, the reviewer must note his impatience with the deliberately Russianized transliteration of Ukrainian proper names.

Konstantin Huytan
London School of Economics and Political Science

² See J. Rakowsky, "Franco-British Policy toward the Ukrainian Revolution, March 1917-February 1918" (Ph.D. diss., Case Western Reserve University, 1974); R. H. Ulman, *Anglo-Soviet Relations*, 3 vols. (Princeton, 1961-73); P. S. Wandycz, *France and Her Eastern Allies, 1919-1925* (Minneapolis, 1962); A. J. Mayer, *The Politics and Diplomacy of Peacemaking: Containment and Counter-Revolution at Versailles, 1918-1919* (Princeton-London, 1968); G. F. Kennan, *Soviet-American Relations*, 2 vols. (Princeton-London, 1956-58).

Hryhorii Kostiuk, *Okaïanni roky: Vid Lukianivskoi tiurmy do Vorkutskoi trahedii (1935-1940 rr.)*. Toronto: Diyaloh, P.O. Box 402, Stn. P, 1978. 165 pp.

At the age of seventy-six, Hryhorii Kostiuk is a survivor of what Jurij Lawrynenko has called the *rozstriliane vidrodzhennia*, the Soviet Ukrainian cultural flowering of the 1920s, which met its end in the Gulag. Kostiuk was himself more the product of the literary scene of the twenties than a participant in it. Before 1929 he studied the history and philosophy of literature with the talented neoclassicist critics, Mykola Zerov and Pavlo Fylypovych.¹ Then he held various university-level teaching posts until his arrest in November 1935. After five "accursed years" of forced labor in the mines of Vorkuta, a place which its residents described as having "ten months of winter and summer the rest," he was released on the eve of the war. He came to the West after the war and has devoted himself to scholarly research on modern Ukrainian history and literature.²

Kostiuk has captured the surreal atmosphere of the 1930s, when the authorities manufactured imaginary plots to commit crimes of cosmic proportions. He begins just before his arrest, with a conversation that evening in which a friend brought him news of the latest arrests. That his former mentors had fallen victim could hardly be a surprise, but he also learned that Ievhen Shabliovsky, an "official" critic and Party favorite, had been seized. "Where is the logic in it?" he asked. "How can one understand the situation?" The regime was devouring its own.

Kostiuk was not left alone with such thoughts for long. Soon the NKVD was at his door, accusing him of sabotage in a factory which the scholar had never known existed. Within a short time he found himself sentenced to five years for "counterrevolutionary activity." It seemed that someone had discerned a threat of "bourgeois nationalist restoration" in his lectures on literature.

The reader cannot suppress a shudder as Kostiuk introduces him to the flower of the Ukrainian intelligentsia during the course of this odyssey in the Gulag or when he learns the fate of so many leading cultural and political figures of Soviet Ukraine. Yet the victims of all the charges and labels seem to have become a bit jaded with it all after awhile. There is one priceless moment when Kostiuk meets a Trotskyist, who asks Kostiuk whether he is of the same persuasion.

"No, a Ukrainian nationalist," replied Kostiuk in jest.

¹ Cf. Hryhorii Kostiuk, "M. Zerov, P. Fylypovych, M. Drai-Khmara (Fragmenty spohadiv)," *Ukrainska literaturna hazeta*, V: 11, 12; VI: 1, 2, 3 (November 1959-March 1960).

² Other works by Kostiuk are listed on page three of the book under review.

"Aha, a Shumskyist, Skrypnykite, Khvylovist, *Uvist*, fascist," was the Trotskyist's sarcastic retort. Evidently impressed that a Russian could recite the titles of all the alleged heresies then current in Ukraine, Kostiuk felt obliged to compliment him on his knowledge of Ukrainian affairs.

Kostiuk's main contribution, however, is his account of the 1937 Vorkuta hunger strike and the aftermath of wholesale executions which followed this protest against the inhuman conditions in the camp. He performs a valuable service in pointing out the courageous role of the Trotskyists in organizing the strike and carrying it out. In so doing, he corrects those like Aleksandr Solzhenitsyn, whose zeal to discredit Marxism has led to his lapse into the Orwellian methods of his opponents in an attempt to portray all Marxist oppositionists as morally bankrupt and cowardly characters who got only what they deserved from Stalin. Stephen Cohen has pointed out Solzhenitsyn's false portrayal of Bukharin in his *New York Times* review of the first volume of the *Gulag Archipelago*, and by correcting the distortions in his account of the Vorkuta tragedy in volumes III-IV, Kostiuk demonstrates that truth requires neither distortion nor embellishment. The truth itself is enough.

James E. Mace
The University of Michigan

An Errata List for the Spring, 1978 issue:

- p. 75, l. 23 should read "... as illustrated by its *macaronic*"
- p. 91, l. 15 should read "card catalogue by *Andrew Gregorovich*..."
- p. 110, subtitle should read "Theses *Irrelevant* to Ukrainian Canadians"

MASTER'S AND DOCTORAL FELLOWSHIPS

The Canadian Institute of Ukrainian Studies invites applications for five Master's thesis fellowships (\$3,500 each), non-renewable, and three Doctoral thesis fellowships (\$5,000 each), renewable, to be awarded in 1979-80. The awards are intended to aid students to complete theses on Ukrainian or Ukrainian-Canadian topics in the disciplines of education, history, the humanities, law, library sciences, and the social sciences. Fellowships will be awarded only in the thesis year of an academic program and only for thesis work.

The fellowships may be held at any institution of higher learning in Canada or elsewhere. Candidates must be Canadian citizens or landed immigrants at the time of application. Only in exceptional circumstances may an award be held concurrently with other awards.

Closing date for receipt of applications is January 31, 1979. For application forms, write to the Canadian Institute of Ukrainian Studies, 352 Athabasca Hall, the graduate scholarships (\$1,500 each), renewable, to be awarded in 1979-80. The

UNDERGRADUATE SCHOLARSHIPS

The Canadian Institute of Ukrainian Studies invites applications for ten undergraduate scholarships (\$1,500 each), renewable, to be awarded in 1978-79. The awards are intended for students interested in an undergraduate degree with a major in Ukrainian studies, consisting of a combination of at least five full courses in a three-year Arts program in Ukrainian, East European, Soviet and/or Canadian studies (depending on whether Ukrainians or Ukrainians in Canada is the main concern) and at least eight full courses in a four-year Arts or Education program.

The awards are intended to cover tuition fees and to subsidize the cost of room and board beginning in the first year. Scholarships of \$500 to students residing at home will increase the number of scholarships available.

The scholarships are for an eight-month period of study at any Canadian university. Candidates must be Canadian citizens or landed immigrants at the time of application. Only in exceptional circumstances may an award be held concurrently with other awards.

Closing date for receipt of applications is January 31, 1979. For application forms, write to the Canadian Institute of Ukrainian Studies, 352 Athabasca Hall, the University of Alberta, Edmonton, Alberta, Canada T6G 2E8 or phone (403) 432-2972.

PUBLICATIONS OF THE CANADIAN INSTITUTE OF
UKRAINIAN STUDIES

Mykola Zerov, *Lectures on the History of Ukrainian Literature.*
(1798-1870).

271 pp. \$9.95 hardcover, \$3.95 paper.

First publication of the renowned scholar's lectures delivered at Kiev University in 1928. Subsequently his works were banned and Zerov himself perished in a Soviet concentration camp. His lectures deal with the crucial period of modern Ukrainian literary history and are a model of scholarly objectivity. They appear in the Ukrainian original, and are intended not only as a textbook for universities but also as a highly educative book for the general reader. Available May 1977.

George Luckyj (ed.) *The VAPLITE Collection* (in Ukrainian).

260 pp. Illustrated. \$10.95 hardcover, \$4.95 paper.

This volume is an expanded edition of previously published materials from the archives of the literary group VAPLITE (1925-1928). It offers a unique insight into the life and work of a group of Ukrainian writers and artists in the 1920s who spearheaded a national and cultural revival. Their attempt to develop a high Ukrainian culture, based on western European models, was cut short by the onset of Stalinism. The collection contains letters, diaries, excerpts from both prose and poetry, and many illustrations, some in colour. Available November 1977.

Orest Zilynsky (ed.), *An Anthology of Ukrainian Lyric Poetry.*

Part One (up to 1919) (in Ukrainian).

439 pp. \$13.95 hardcover, \$6.95 paper.

A selection of the finest Ukrainian poetry from the earliest period to 1919. A rich sampling of lyric verse in the original Ukrainian. "A favorite scholarly idea of Zilynsky's was that the Ukrainian *Geist* attained its greatest heights in lyrical poetry" (*Harvard Ukrainian Studies*, June 1977).

The volume contains a long introduction by the editor, whose tragic death in 1976 deprived Ukrainian scholarship of a leading light. An article on Zilynsky's life and publications rounds out the volume. Available May 1978.

JUST PUBLISHED

Danylo Husar Struk, *Ukrainian for Undergraduates*.

350 pp. \$9.00 hardcover, \$5.00 paper.

A text developed for university students with some background in Ukrainian. Drills, written and oral exercises, basic morphology. Points of grammar are explained in English. Includes grammatical tables and vocabulary.

These books may be ordered from:

Mosaic Press
P.O. Box 1032
Oakville, Ontario
Canada L6J 5E9

IN PREPARATION: PUBLICATION—SPRING 1979.

The Ukrainian Dumy (editio minor).

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A TABLE OF TRANSLITERATION (Modified Library of Congress)

а — a	ї — i	ф — f
б — b	й — i	х — kh
в — v	к — k	ц — ts
г — h	л — l	ч — ch
ґ — g	м — m	ш — sh
д — d	н — n	щ — shch
е — e	о — o	ю — iu
є — ie	п — p	я — ia
ж — zh	р — r	ь — -
з — z	с — s	-ий — y in endings
и — y	т — t	of personal
і — i	у — u	names only

